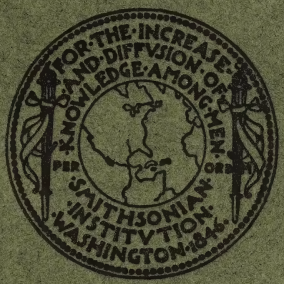
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 125

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE FOX INDIANS

By WILLIAM JONES

EDITED BY MARGARET WELPLEY FISHER



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., December 10, 1938.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Ethnography of the Fox Indians", by William Jones, edited by Margaret Welpley Fisher, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. STIRLING, *Chief.*

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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PREFACE

A few years ago the Smithsonian Institution received a letter from a lawyer in Oklahoma informing them that the ethnological notes of William Jones had come into his hands, and asking them if they would like to have them. The Smithsonian Institution was very glad to have them, for these notes had been written by one of the most colorful figures in American anthropology and had disappeared from sight some 20 years before.

William Jones was born March 28, 1871, on the Sauk and Fox Reservation in Oklahoma, of an English mother. His father was the issue of a marriage between a Fox woman and a white man who had gone west with Boone and had fought in the Black Hawk War. When William Jones was about a year old his mother died, and he was given to his Indian grandmother for rearing. With her he lived the life of an Indian boy until she died. He was then 9 years old. Then his father took him, but the child was lonely in his new surroundings, and his father sent him to school. After 3 years of schooling he returned to his father's house and became a cowboy.

This life ended in 1889, when he went to Hampton Institute. He proved to be a good student and ambitious for further schooling. From Hampton he went to Andover, and from Andover a scholarship enabled him to go to Harvard.

He went to Harvard planning to study medicine, but once there he fell into Putnam's hands, and Putnam suggested to him that he had unusual qualifications for a career in anthropology. This idea did not at first attract him, but in the end he was won over, an important factor in the decision being his uncertainty as to how a medical education could be financed.

He was graduated from Harvard in 1900, and finished his training at Columbia, receiving his M. A. there in 1901 and his Ph. D. in 1904.

Jones had spent his summers ever since his first year at Harvard in field work with different Algonquian tribes. He became interested in a comparative study of Algonquian religions. He wanted to go to Labrador and work with the Naskapi. But he could find no permanent employment in Algonquian research. In 1906 the Field Museum gave him his choice of three expeditions—to Africa, the South Seas, or the Philippines. He finally consented to undertake the Philippine

expedition. In August 1907 he left Seattle for Luzon. In the spring of 1909, when he was on his way out, he was murdered by the Ilongots.

After his death his collection of Ojibwa and Kickapoo tales was edited by Dr. Michelson. Dr. Boas found a few notes on the Fox Indians which he published in the Journal of American Folklore in 1911. But the rest of his Fox papers were missing and their whereabouts remained undisclosed until the death of his father. Then through the family lawyer the Smithsonian Institution learned that Jones Senior had felt that much of the information divulged to his son had been due to his own friendship with the Foxes, and had therefore been unwilling that this material should be published during his lifetime.

After these manuscripts were turned over to the Smithsonian Institution a sum of money was granted Dr. Michelson by the National Research Council so that the material might be edited, and this task was entrusted to the writer.

There would be little more to add except for an intriguing passage in Henry Rideout's little book, "William Jones":

"The Iowa Foxes initiated him into many ancient mysteries of their religion, which have never been disclosed to a white man. Jones committed to paper an account of these, with sketches, diagrams, and the full interpretation which probably no other man could have supplied. The document he then sealed. It will not be opened until the older Indians have gone to their fathers, taking their lore with them" (p. 47).

This caught my attention at once, and since none of the material turned over to me had required unsealing, I at once started a search for the sealed manuscript. Since this passage had previously attracted attention and is likely to attract others in the future, it seems best to give a brief account of attempts to solve the mystery, and conclusions reached.

I first discussed the matter with Dr. Michelson. He said that Dr. Boas had noticed the reference, had tried to track down the material, and had concluded that there was no such manuscript.

The next move was to write to the family lawyer, who was completely cooperative, but expressed the belief that everything which Jones had written had been sent to the Smithsonian Institution.

It did not yet seem time to give up. According to Rideout's statements, this sealed material had been gathered in the summer of 1897. It seemed possible that Professor Dixon of Harvard might have some knowledge of it. Dixon made a search of the Peabody Museum files and safe, but could find nothing. He did corroborate the fact that this material once existed, and remembered that it had been sealed.

This letter caused the search to be carried on with renewed vigor. Three of Jones' most intimate friends, Henry Rideout, William Morrow, and Raynold Bolling, who might have been able to throw some light on the problem, were dead, but a number of his close friends were left, and an effort was made to get in touch with all of them.

E. W. Deming, the artist, remembered hearing Jones speak of that particular manuscript, and knew that it had been sealed and put away, but could not say where. He went over some of Jones' letters which he had, but could find nothing that would help.

Dr. Wissler, with whom Jones lived while he was a student at Columbia, could not recall his ever having mentioned a sealed manuscript and was inclined to consider it a myth.

Miss Caroline Andrus, to whom Jones was engaged at the time of his death, could give no personal information as to the manuscript, but she got in touch with Miss Folsom, the woman who brought Jones from the west, and whom he looked upon as a second mother. Miss Folsom had read part of the manuscript and had seen the sketches. Miss Andrus and Miss Folsom were both very helpful, and what Miss Folsom was able to recall about the paper the manuscript had been written on led me reluctantly to the belief that "the sealed manuscript" was among the papers which I had—now appearing as The Sacred Feast. For the benefit of any others who may be interested, the correspondence on the matter is being filed with the original manuscripts in the care of the Smithsonian Institution.

About the actual editing little need be said. The editor takes responsibility for the arrangement of the material, chapter headings, the introduction, all footnotes except those initialed by Dr. Michelson, and appendices A and D. No liberties were taken with the original material except occasionally to relieve the grammar, or to harmonize the phonetics with Jones' published Fox Texts.

Acknowledgments are gratefully made to W. E. Wells, the lawyer who rescued the manuscripts from oblivion, and to all those who assisted in the search for the sealed manuscript. Particular acknowledgments are due to the National Research Council, whose funds made this work possible; to Mr. M. W. Stirling, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, through whose courtesy the facilities of the Bureau were afforded me; and above all to Dr. Truman Michelson, who gave generously of his time and the results of his experience throughout the process of editing the manuscript.

MARGARET WELPLEY FISHER.

WASHINGTON, *October 1, 1934.*

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE FOX INDIANS

By William Jones

INTRODUCTION

The Fox Indians are interesting to anthropologists for a number of reasons. One reason is that culturally they are intermediate in a number of respects between the tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and those of the Great Plains. Then there is their language, which, being in some respects the most archaic of the Algonquian tongues, is of great importance to the Algonquian philologist. But the major point of interest lies in the fact that they have earned the distinction, along with their kindred the Mexican Kickapoo, of being ranked among the most conservative of all Indians. Up until fairly recent years their rejection of white ways had been so nearly complete that it became natural to think of their culture as representing an archaic Fox pattern, to consider them types of the "Central Algonquian." To what extent this is actually the case we have no means of knowing. A careful perusal of their history, however, shows that the normal processes of acculturation were carried to such extraordinary lengths in their case that it would be remarkable if many specifically Fox traits survived. Their turbulent career was responsible for an unusually full documentation of their political history.[1] These documents show the French waging war after war of extermination against them. Charlevoix said of them that they "like those insects that seem to have as many lives as parts of their body, sprang to life again, so as to say, after their defeat, and reduced almost to a handful of brigands, appear everywhere . . ."

[1] The main sources of Fox history on which this sketch is based are:

Kellogg, Louise P. The Fox Indians During the French Regime. Proc. Wis. State Hist. Soc., 1907, pp. 142–188, 1908.

Thwaites, R. G., editor. The French Regime in Wisconsin. Collections State Hist. Soc. Wisconsin, vols. 16, 17, 18, 1902–1908.

———. The British Regime in Wisconsin. Collections State Hist. Soc. Wisconsin, vol. 18, pp. 223–468, 1908.

Houck, Louis. The Spanish Regime in Missouri. Chicago, 1909.

Rebok, Horace M. The Last of the Mus-qua-kies, Dayton, Ohio, 1900. Reprinted in Iowa Hist. Record, 17, pp. 305-335, 1901.

Handbook of American Indians. Articles "Fox" and "Sauk." Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1907.

Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

This regeneration was accomplished mainly in two ways, a source of nearly as much concern to the ethnologist as to the French. For one way in which they were in the habit of recruiting their numbers was to go out after prisoners whom they adopted into the tribe. What new cultural influences this practice introduced there is no way of evaluating, though we do know that the Pawnee were frequent victims of these raids. The Fox word for slave is *pani*.

The other method was potentially an equally fruitful source of culture change, for whenever the Foxes became seriously reduced in numbers their various western allies sent them back all Fox prisoners who had come into their hands.

Great as the influence of these practices must have been, there were yet other means by which acculturation was accelerated. The following sketch of Fox history will indicate the scope of Fox activity, which could not but have made serious inroads into an aboriginal culture pattern.

Knowledge of Fox history begins in 1640, the year in which a Huron map was drawn up for the Jesuits. This document, containing the first known mention of the Foxes, locates them around Green Bay, Wis., and gives them for neighbors the Sauk, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Menominee, and Winnebago. They had come to the region but recently, being driven westward by the hostile Erie and Neuters. Such records as we have for the period indicate that the warfare which had been responsible for their migration in no wise abated in their new home, for the next 20 years were filled with the hostilities of the hitherto dominant Winnebago and the newly arrived Algonquian tribes.

In 1665 a new series of conflicts was ushered in by the arrival of the French traders. From the beginning there was friction—antagonism so great as to limit materially the success of the proselytizer, Father Allouez, who established a mission there in 1670. The Father found the Foxes already hostile and remarked sadly that if the traders had behaved as they should have, matters would have been much easier for him. As it was, in the 9 arduous years he labored among them he could count no converts except among the sick and dying.

However, a new continent was being opened to trade, and one of the most important of the early trade routes followed the Fox River, then after an easy portage, the Wisconsin River, to the Mississippi. There can be no doubt that the respective positions of various Indian tribes on the great trade routes played an important part in determining the tribe's relations with white traders. The Foxes held a peculiarly strategic area. The Fox-Wisconsin waterway was a preferred route, but it traversed a wilderness far from French forts, and trading canoes using it could easily be plundered. From the Fox point of

view the depredation of French trading canoes was justified. The Fox tribe, noted for its warlike character, had two especially bitter tribal enemies, the Ojibwa and the Sioux. The French had already armed the Ojibwa, and were using the route through Fox territory to take weapons to the Sioux.

Expanding French commerce required that the various Indian tribes keep the peace. To secure such a peace French policy called for the establishment of a fort at Detroit as a concentration point for the Indians of a wide area, who were to be bound to the French and to each other through treaties. The fort was established in 1699. In 1700 the French made peace with the Iroquois, removing what had been a major threat to trade. The following spring a congress of the western tribes met at Montreal for the purpose of cementing the peace. At this conference the Fox chief reaffirmed his friendship with the Iroquois, but reminded the assemblage that his tribe was still at war with the Sioux. Sioux trade, however, was indispensable to the French. They found the Fox statement embarrassing, but continued to send canoes loaded with arms to the Sioux. The Foxes plundered these canoes, and the French considered them treaty breakers. To the Foxes, however, it appeared that the French had taken the initiative in warlike acts, and they were less than ever disposed to go to Detroit and put themselves under French protection.

By 1710, however, when the French were on the point of abandoning the concentration policy, a band of Fox and Mascouten Indians, some 1,000 strong, finally arrived at Detroit. Their presence made the commanding officer uneasy. He found them unbearably insolent, and other Indian groups brought him rumors that the Foxes were in the pay of the British and had only come there to wipe out the French and their Indian allies. The atmosphere grew more and more tense. Matters came to a head in 1712, when a Mascouten village on the St. Joseph River was wiped out by a band led by an Ottawa chief. When the Fox and Mascouten band at Detroit heard of this, they promptly selected an Ottawa cabin near the fort walls and set fire to it. The worried post commander sent runners to friendly bands, most of whom were out on hunting trips, and prepared to withstand siege. His allies arrived in time to turn the tables, and it was the Foxes who were besieged. Elevations were built within the French fort from which it was possible to fire on the Fox position and to bar their way to water. In spite of the inequality of the combat, the Foxes withstood the siege for 18 days, and during the nineteenth day were able to evacuate under cover of a heavy storm. Pursuit came with the morning, and siege was laid to the new Fox position. The arrival of French field pieces terminated the siege 4 days later.

The defeat was a crushing one, and Fox losses were heavy. It was the French hope that this would permanently subdue the Foxes, but

it merely infuriated the survivors, who harried both French trading parties and Indian hunting parties so effectively as to bring trade to a virtual standstill.

After some weeks of this the French sent out what was ostensibly a punitive expedition against the Foxes. The equipment carried, however, made it clear that it was actually a well-protected trading expedition. A peace was immediately concluded with the Foxes on exceedingly lenient terms.

The Foxes kept the peace for a time, but not because their hatred for the French had lessened. They sent messengers to all the more powerful tribes known to be either disaffected or at most weakly bound to the French. They urged the Abenaki to come and settle among them. They obtained from the Iroquois promises of asylum if needed. They patched up their old quarrel with the Sioux. They gained the friendship of the Iowa and the Oto, and tried to win over the Omaha and the Chickasaw. When they felt they were strong enough they began their raids once more, directing particular attention to the Illinois, who were among the most faithful of the French allies, breaking the Illinois confederacy completely.

News of the widespread intrigue reached the French, and report after report was written, as French officials on both sides of the Atlantic pondered the Fox problem. They hesitated to send out a military expedition, realizing the difficulties of such a war, and the consequences should they not be successful. Hoping Indian tribes unfriendly to the Foxes would solve their problem for them, they announced that they had abandoned the Foxes to their enemies. The enemies, however, were not minded to carry war into Fox territory.

By 1726 matters had reached such a pass that the French could see no solution short of extermination of the Fox tribe. To accomplish this a threefold plan was devised. It was to consist first of blocking the passage of the Foxes to the Iroquois; second, of establishing a fort in Sioux territory, thus keeping the Sioux quiet while cutting off Fox retreat in that direction; and lastly of giving aid and leadership to all tribes who could be persuaded to go to war against the Foxes.

The Sioux fort was established in 1727, and in the spring of the following year an expedition was launched against the Foxes. The French arrived at the Fox village only to find it deserted. The best the invading army could do was to burn houses and lay waste fields. However, the Mascouten and Kickapoo were overawed into abandoning their Fox alliance for the time being.

When the Foxes learned that they could expect no aid from those who had been their principal allies, they decided the time had come to accept the Iroquois offer of asylum. The French were determined to prevent this at all cost, and set out hastily to intercept them. When the Foxes became aware of pursuit, they fortified their position

and once more stood siege. After 23 punishing days the Foxes sought to evacuate during a storm. The crying of their children betrayed their flight. The French were in hot pursuit at once, and a massacre resulted which nearly destroyed the Fox tribe. Only 50 or 60 were believed to have escaped. The French records in this case are sustained by native tradition; in 1823 a Sauk, speaking of the wars with the French, stated that once there were only 3 lodges of Fox Indians left.

However, the winter following the massacre found the Fox tribe numbering about 250 members. This rapid increase was made possible by their western allies. With the Foxes facing probable extinction, friendly tribes gained the release of Fox tribesmen held as prisoners of war and sent them back to augment the tribe. By this means, and by the capture and adoption by the Foxes of other Indians, the 50 or 60 survivors were swelled in a year to between 200 and 300. To call all of these individuals Foxes is probably to be guilty of a serious error. Politically they were all members of the Fox tribe. Culturally they had wide and various roots. Some of them had no Fox blood at all; others had been a long time abroad. The effects of this influx of new members can scarcely be estimated, but it is safe to hazard that significant changes occurred in the Fox culture pattern.

In 1731, then, the Foxes were in existence by grace only of adopted captives and returned Fox prisoners. These 200-odd persons who were the Fox Nation took refuge at a Sauk village which had been placed under French protection. Although the Fox problem might well have been considered solved, the French would be satisfied with nothing less than complete extermination, and they called upon the Sauk to deliver them up to be scattered in slavery. These conditions seemed too hard to the Sauk, who refused to deliver them up. A French officer came after them with an insufficient force and was himself killed and his party routed. The Sauk felt implicated by that event, and the combined tribes fled to Iowa. The western Indians took the side of the Foxes, and the wars with the French reopened.

The French made one more attempt to settle the matter by force of arms, sending an expedition in 1735. This expedition came to nothing. The Sioux came actively to the aid of the Foxes, and forced the abandonment of the Sioux fort.

At the Montreal conference of 1737 all the Indians united in pleading for the Foxes. The governor, with great show of graciousness, granted a general pardon. The French then tried to persuade the Foxes to settle quietly at Green Bay. They were naturally reluctant, but finally, though some stayed on at their Rock River village, the Sauks and the Foxes did establish twin villages near Green Bay.

Affairs might now have gone more smoothly if France had been the only colonial power interested in Indian trade. France, however,

soon found herself in a bitter struggle with England for dominance of the New World. In an attempt to relieve the strained French treasury, trading posts were leased to the highest bidder. The lessees in their turn raised prices to an exorbitant level. The Indians, finding conditions unendurable, began trading secretly with the English. Gradually French trade was ruined, and as the struggle went on, outpost after outpost was evacuated.

After 1750 the French documents have less and less to say about affairs in the upper country. During the last years of French dominion the Foxes seem to have fought on the French side against the English. But when the English finally took over the Green Bay post in 1761, they found the Sauk and Fox inclined to favor them. During Pontiac's conspiracy the Sauk, Fox, and Menominee protected the British garrison at Green Bay, and rescued prisoners from the hostile Ottawa.

During the British regime we hear little from the Fox in Wisconsin. When Carver passed through the twin Sauk and Fox villages in 1766 he found the Fox village deserted because of an epidemic which had just carried off half their inhabitants. Fourteen years later, after a disastrous war with the Ojibwa, the Foxes left Wisconsin for good.

In 1804 a band of Sauks wintering about St. Louis were drawn into negotiations with the United States Government, by which they ceded all their land east of the Mississippi. The two tribes indignantly repudiated the treaty, saying that the persons who signed it were without authority to do so. There is every reason to believe that the treaty was fraudulent, but the government insisted on holding the tribes to it. This led directly to the Black Hawk war, which belongs rather to Sauk history than to Fox, as the Foxes participated in this war only as individuals, and not as a tribe.

In 1842 the tribes sold their remaining territory and were given 3 years to move to their new home in Kansas. This migration took its toll. Pestilence further decreased their numbers, about 300 dying of cholera in 1851, and another 300 of smallpox in 1852.

In their Kansas home the Foxes were in a minority, and they were dissatisfied with the administration of their affairs. A rift grew and widened with their traditional allies, the Sauk, which came to a climax over a treaty allotting lands in severalty. The Fox chief was bitterly opposed and refused to allow an enrollment. For this he was deposed by the Government. In 1856 he left for Iowa with a small group of followers, among whom were a band of Potawatomi. Some 80 acres of land were purchased near Tama, Iowa. Group after group left Kansas to join the small colony. The Federal Government, however, holding the migration to be unauthorized, refused to pay them their annuities and so brought about a desperate financial situation at Tama. For 11 years the Foxes managed as they could,

until in 1867, after the remaining Foxes in Kansas moved to Oklahoma, the Government resumed annuity payments. Part of this money was used to increase their landholdings until at present they hold title to 3,000 acres, from which a mixed group of Fox, Sauk, Potawatomi, and Winnebago wrest a livelihood.

In conclusion it is perhaps well to point out once more that the Fox Indians have been many times depleted and many times restocked. Although their resistance to the white culture with which they came in contact was pronounced, still their relations with other Indians were many and intimate. How many full-blood Foxes there were even as early as 1731 cannot be estimated. It may be inferred, however, that the massacres and plagues that attended Fox history have caused a very considerable infiltration of alien blood and presumably alien culture into the Fox Nation. In the face of these facts any assumption of an archaic and original pattern at the time of the William Jones information is to be made at the maker's peril.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY [2]

Ownership of the land.—The white man was created on the other side of the Ke'tci nepi or Kumi (ocean). The manitou put him there and gave that part of the world to him. Here on this land was the Indian (Anenōtäwa'[1]) created by Wīsa'kä. This land was given him as his own. It is his by right of gift from the manitou long before the white man came.

The white man came and the Indian received him kindly. The Indian has permitted the white man to come on his land to live, and has let him have the free use of the grass and trees that grew on it. Today the white man has forgotten the need and want of his fathers who were befriended by the Indians.

*Wâpᴀsaiy*ᵃ.[3]—This person is believed to be a son of the manitou that reigns above. He lived about the time of the advent of the

[2] A number of other Fox traditions collected by William Jones are to be found in JAFL, 1911, pp. 229–237, and in his Fox Texts. These traditions have certain episodes which are obviously mythological, but in general outline they are reasonably accurate. Michelson found their traditional history quite accurate as far back as 1790: Dubuque and the lead mines are well remembered, the substance of the treaty of 1804, the name of the chief who helped the British in 1812, the names of interpreters going back a long way, the date of the Civil War, the purchase of land in Iowa, and the location of old village sites.

[3] White Robe. Many semihistorical incidents are linked with his name. (Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 9–13; JAFL, 1911, pp. 230–233; Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 123; Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 3, footnote 7.) Wâpᴀsaiyᵃ is a name belonging to the War Chief gens, and in addition to the condensed stories about him in general circulation among the tribe, Michelson has an elaborate esoteric version told by a prominent member of this gens.

French among the Foxes. When a child he was disobedient and abused other children. When a youth he accompanied war parties, much to the displeasure of the elders. As a chief he was very cruel and inflicted tortures on people that came to visit the Foxes. He dishonored the custom of hospitality to guests.

War, for this reason, was made on the Foxes, and WâpAsaiy[a] was captured by the Peorias and tortured and burned at the stake.

He is believed to dwell now above and will return among the Indians again. He is called TcāginAtōw[a] and Tcāgacū[a] in the place above.[4]

The Foxes and the French.—A party of Indians of the Fox clan were once on a hunt when they met up with men of another race—the French. The French asked who they were and the Indians replied by giving the name of their clan, Wākohagi. They also called themselves Wākucahagi, the plural of the word for fox. The French then named them les Renards, which the English later turned into Foxes. This meeting was north of the Great Lakes. The whole tribe was then known as Utagamiagi.[5]

The Foxes and Keokuk and the Black Hawk war.—Only part of the Indians consented to sell the Rock River country in Illinois. But nevertheless the Foxes moved over into Iowa and settled in the region round about where Keokuk now stands. When the Black Hawk war was over the Foxes were asked to allow the Sauks to live among them, a request which was granted. It seems that no statement of this import was put into the treaty that was made between the Sauks and Foxes and the Government.

Keokuk was a leading man of the Sauks who joined the Foxes while their people were at war with the United States on the eastern side of the Mississippi. He was not a chief, but he was elevated to that position by the United States after the war. He was given prominent recognition because his band kept with the peaceful Foxes during the war. A few Foxes had joined Black Hawk in the war.

Keokuk at the Treaty of 1822.—A large delegation of Sauks and Foxes went to Washington to make a treaty with the United States in regard to the territory now in the State of Iowa. Keokuk was the principal spokesman of the Sauk and Fox delegation. There were women and children in the party.

It happened that the Menominees, Iowas, Otoes, Winnebagoes, and Sioux were represented by delegations of headmen and chiefs who had also gone to Washington. The representatives of these different

[4] TcāginAtōw[a], according to one version (Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 9–31), was White Robe's name in a previous incarnation. Then he was born again and was called Tcāgacū[a]. He was very naughty as a child. Later in life he went on a war party and slew an enemy, and was then given the name of White Robe.

[5] People of the other shore. A name given to the Foxes by the Ojibwa.

tribes had come to protest against the United States treating with the Sauks and Foxes alone in regard to the territory in question. They all united in declaring that the Sauks and Foxes were not the sole possessors of the land; that the Sauks and Foxes had no right to the land in question, for they had robbed it from them; that the Sauks and Foxes continually harassed them with war parties; that they had lost many men in protecting and defending and in trying to hold the land in question; and many other things did the representatives say against the Sauks. The various tribes had agents who whispered to them what to say to the Commissioner.

Keokuk gave answer after the speakers of each tribe had done talking. This is what he said: "True the Iowas and Otoes and Winnebagoes once had some ownership to the land we now live on. True, also, that these Sioux once owned the land. I need not tell you that my people owned the Rock River country. You know that there was a man among us who thought he could defeat you in war. In that war we lost many people, and that man was taken prisoner by you, and the land we once owned was taken from us and is held by you as your own. Now the same thing happened between my people and these before me. As I said, they speak the truth when they tell you that they once owned the land. But they went to war against us. (Keokuk is making reference to the betrayal of the Sauk and Fox chiefs by the Menominee and Sioux, for which the Sauks and Foxes took revenge.—W. J.) We beat them, and we took their land away from them. Just as you claim Rock River country now is yours, so in like manner we claim that Iowa belongs to us. You have to probe their ears with a stick before you can get anything into their heads."

Much else was said, and while Keokuk was talking the room was silent, and the Commissioner hung his head, smiling at every point Keokuk brought forward to reenforce the validity of the claim his people had to the land. The outcome of it all was that the United States Government treated with the Sauks and Foxes alone.

After the council the Sioux and others had retired to their lodging places. After a time came the Sauks and Foxes. They came down the street, out in the middle of it, and sang to the beat of their drum. The Sioux were watching them from the side of the street. One of their number ran out to the passing Sauks and Foxes, leaping as he came, and extended his hand to one of the men. The Sauk or Fox struck the man's hand with as hard a blow as he could strike and turned his back on him. The Sioux ran off as fast as he came.

Keokuk's son made chief by the Government.—Old Keokuk had died, and a successor had to be appointed. His son Wunāgkisāha was then a young man. One day a party of Sauk leaders told him to come

along to Washington with them. He did not know what the purpose of the trip was.

In due time the party reached Washington, and it wasn't long before the Indians were in the Commissioner's office. The Indians began to make their speeches. The drift of all their talk was to the effect that Wunāgkisäha was a young man who had not yet done sowing his wild oats, i. e., he gambled, wasted his time with loose women, and was in every way incapable of the chieftainship, and much else that was derogatory to Wunāgkisäha's character. And that Äsämisāha, Black Hawk's son who was there present, was the proper man for the chieftainship.

Wunāgkisäha was choked at first with surprise on hearing the Indians accuse him on account of bad behavior. He collected himself after a time and began to think what answer he would give. At last an opportunity was given him to speak, and when he spoke it was something like this:

"True I am young and I have the faults that young men are accustomed to fall into. I drink and sometimes get drunk; your young men do likewise. I have associated with women of loose morals; your white young men do likewise.

"Now we people have this custom—when we go to war we sometimes make prisoners; these prisoners we make our slaves. They do what we ask them, they are our property and they do what we tell them. Once we had a war with you, not many years ago. You beat us in that war, and the man who led our people into that war you took prisoner. You brought him out here, and shut him up. You did to him just as we would do to our prisoners. Now that prisoner of yours was the father of this young man here whom these men ask to be chief. Among us such a man wouldn't be allowed such a position, but with you I don't know how it is."

Black Hawk's son hung his head, and the other men did the same, and none could answer Wunāgkisäha. Whether or not it was through the influence of his speech, Wunāgkisäha was made chief by the Government through the Commissioner, and he has been chief to this day.

COSMOGONY

MANITOU

It has thus been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic mysterious power which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that the conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure and confused when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a

sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy; and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings rather than on one's knowledge.[6]

Conversations regarding manitou.—An Indian had been to a circus and had seen a parrot. He heard it talk. He remarked that it must be a manitou.

I was walking along the railroad track with an Indian when we met a train. I said, "Here comes a manitou." And he replied, "Yes, and a very great one at that." [7]

I was talking with some Indians about a certain man we all knew. The man was very intelligent and he had a way of learning things quickly. He spoke well, and he was quick at almost everything he did. An Indian remarked that the man must be under the influence of a manitou that enabled him to do so many things.

There is a story which tells of Wīsa'kä leaving parts of his body on the bushes and along the trail where he ran. As he came back he saw some of it hanging from a tree and thought that it had been left by his uncles who had gone by. An Indian remarked that Wīsa'kä must be a very great manitou to do such a thing and not feel any the worse for it.

Manitou: its influence.—A man was in love with a woman. The man went away and was gone for several days. While away a pain came in his finger. The pain went from the finger up the arm and to other parts of his body. The pain was intense, and the man felt as if he would die. On a certain day the pain began to ease up and then it gradually went away. On his arrival home the man got word that the woman was dead, and that she had died on a certain day. That day, the man found, was when the pain began to leave him. His conclusion was that the woman had exercised a spell over him and if she had not died when she did he probably would have died, instead. It was the manitou in her that caused his pain.

A man and a young woman came up to where an old woman was. The two women got to playing, and the old woman stumbled and

[6] This is Dr. Jones' summary of the manitou concept, taken from his paper "The Algonkin Manitou", JAFL 18, pp. 183–190, 1905, in which he has set forth what he considered to be the fundamentals of Fox religion. The question can be raised whether Jones in writing this was not more influenced by the mana-concept prevalent at the time than by his own data. This conceptual abstraction is denied for the Menomini and Plains Ojibwa by Skinner ("The Menomini word 'Häwätûk' ", JAFL 28, pp. 258–261, 1915); for the Winnebago and Ojibwa by Radin ("Religion of the North American Indians", JAFL 27: 349, 1914); and for the coastal Cree and Fort Hope Ojibwa by Father Cooper (The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being, Catholic University of America, Anthrop. Series No. 2, p. 38, 1934). It seems to the editor that in the case of the Foxes, also, the data obtained by Michelson and that presented here by Jones argue for a belief in an indefinite number of definitely conceived supernatural beings, rather than for a belief in a mysterious cosmic power everywhere in nature.

[7] The same thing is said nowadays about the automobile (T. Michelson).

fell. Just as the old woman fell, the man felt a pain in his leg. The leg was swollen for some time. The man claimed that the sight of the old woman falling was what caused the pain. A manitou went from the woman into the man's leg and caused the pain and swelling.

Loss of the manitou.—A man of the Bear clan had a manitou within him, at the place behind the pit of the stomach. He had the power of curing the sick and of doing a good many supernatural things. One time a woman who was menstruating came into the lodge before her time was up, before she had bathed. The man was in the lodge at the time, and from then his manitou left him. Now the man is out of sorts. He trembles by reason of old age. Yet he has the power of telling if a sick person will live or not. He can tell by just merely looking at him.

Possession of the manitou after death.—It is a custom to blacken the face with charcoal and go forth to fast 4 days. It is done to gain communion with the manitou. One makes an offering of holy tobacco to the manitou at the time of communion. It is then that one comes into possession of a higher power than one had before. It helps one to foretell and work magic. This power one keeps during the length of life and it even remains with one's soul after death. The power is everlasting because the manitou granted it.

The eating of dog.—The dog is a manitou the eating of which by the people is highly pleasing to all the manitous. To eat a dog is the same as offering a prayer for pity, for long life, for whatever one greatly desires. It is not like eating common food. One eats in the usual way to satisfy hunger, to gain strength of body, and for mere pleasure, but to eat dog is to get in touch with the manitous and to obtain things which cannot be got from ordinary food. It is but a way of letting the manitou inside one's self impart some quality of its nature. It makes one different in mind and body from what one would be otherwise; one passes into a friendly relation with the manitous.

Various manitous and their homes.[8]—One great manitou lives in the

[8] No complete list of Fox supernatural beings can be given, but in addition to those described here may be mentioned:

Supernatural buffaloes. (See T. Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 45; and Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 2.)

Wapanowi birds, four in number, residing at the four quarters. They have a dual division like that of the Foxes. (See T. Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 12–13.)

The snake, regarded with awe and never killed. (See W. Jones, JAFL, 24, pp. 214–215, 1911. For a boy's prayer to a snake see W. Jones, Fox Texts, p. 381.)

Owls, foxes, and wolves, friendly manitous. (W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 215, 1911.)

Toads, friendly, able to heal the sick (ibid.).

The spirit-bear, the most dreadful form of witch. (See p. 26.)

sky. His lodge is on the White River.[9] He is chief of the manitous in that region. Under the earth is another great manitou who is chief of the manitous there. At the north is Wīsa'kä, at the west is Iyāpā'tä, his younger brother. To the east is the Sun, and to the south is Cāwan[a],[10] who is over the Thunderers.

Wīsa'kä.[11]—Wīsa'kä made the earth and everything in it. He made man. He now lives at the north and no one comes where he is except by his will. He can go and come wherever he wishes.

Kecä manitōwa.[12]—Kecä manitōwa lives on high and rules over the manitous there. The right and the power have been granted him by Wīsa'kä to create some people. These became chiefs. Both are great manitous, but Wīsa'kä is greater. Often Wīsa'kä invites Kecä manitōwa to his lodge, and there they hold council about the affairs of men and manitous.

Ke'tci manitōwa.[13]—Up above us is a river of the stars, called the White River. Manitous dwell along its banks. Some of these manitous are those whom Wīsa'kä drove away from the earth, and others are manitous who were once mortals here on earth. Those manitous who were once mortals were partly manitous when they lived here among men. Ordinary mortals never ascend to the White River. The stars we see shining along the banks of the White River are manitous. The wigwam of Ke'tci manitōwa is there. He is chief over the manitous there.

The "Spirit of Fire" and "He-whose-eyes-bulge-in-the-smoke-hole." Intermediaries who convey messages to other deities. These two play an important part in all Fox ritual, and countless mention of them is made in T. Michelson's various bulletins. A good description of their duties and powers can be found in Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 61–63.

Da-we-te-si-wa, the smoky fog which stands over snow in spring, invoked to conceal one from the enemy (ibid., p. 159).

He-who-goes-about-dispensing-warfare, a manitou who controls battle and death (ibid., pp. 160–161).

Spirit of Sickness, to whom feasts were made. Doubtless derived from "Disease-Giver," a prominent Winnebago deity. (See p. 148, No. 8.)

[9] The Milky Way.

[10] The great manitou of the south, a friend of Cāwana-ąnwi, the south wind. The Thunderers are sometimes said to dwell in Cāwana's lodge, and at other times are described as dwelling at the four quarters, among and beyond the clouds. (W. Jones, JAFL, 24, pp. 212–213, 1911.)

[11] A prominent member of the War Chief gens once told Dr. Michelson that Wīsa'kä was a member of that gens.

[12] "The gentle manitou," a concept probably due to European ideas (T. Michelson).

[13] "The great manitou." The Foxes identify Kecä manitōwa with Ke'tci manitōwa, but Michelson feels that the former was due to European ideas, whereas the latter was not wholly European in origin, even though the present concept shows European influence. (See Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 17–18; also The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being, by Father Cooper, cited above.)

Far away up in the skies, beyond the distance we can see, is a place where there is a big lodge. No mortals dwell there; only the manitous live there, and over them is a big chief. His name is Ke'tci manitōwa. Ke'tci manitōwa and a great many of these manitous live together in that big lodge where they feast, dance, sing, and beat their drum. Often when the Thunderers are traveling in the clouds and keeping watch over the people on earth,[14] they journey to this big lodge before returning to their home in the south. Ke'tci manitōwa is always happy to see the Thunderers. He welcomes them to his lodge and places food before them to eat. But the Thunderers cannot tarry long, because they must hurry back to the earth to see that no evildoers do any harm to the people. Often people go to this lodge after they die, but they who go there are those who were part manitous here on earth.

The Thunderers.[15]—One night when the Thunderers were walking about in the heavens and were making a frightful noise as they were looking out for the safety of their children, there came up from the west two big manitous. These two manitous looked like two big lizards. They had no wings, and they traveled through the air as a frog swims through water. First they reached out with their forelegs and then kicked back with their hind legs, and at every lunge they made they threw out from their mouths long sheets of flame, and this made a hissing sound. They did not go far before they came down to the earth, and when they arrived on the earth, they came with a heavy thud. But it was not long before they were off again. And thus they traveled toward the Great Water, coming down to the earth, and then into the air again. By and by they disappeared, and were never seen again. These manitous belong in the world below, and they and the Thunderers are not friends. When they came up from the world below, the Thunderers knew of it, and came out from the south in search of these manitous. And the only reason why the Thunderers did not catch them was because they traveled out of the course of the Thunderers, and very near the earth. If the Thunderers had caught them they would have surely killed them.

Once on a time two manitous came leaping out of the western sky. They looked like great lizards. They had no wings. They leaped like a frog, and they went through the air like a frog through water, reaching out with the forelegs and kicking back with the hind legs. They moved with great speed, and made a hissing noise. At every lunge they belched out flames of fire. Every time they landed they

[14] For a more detailed account of the relations between Indians and Thunderers see W. Jones, JAFL, 24, pp. 213–214, 1911.

[15] For a discussion of the conflict between Thunder Beings and various monsters see T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 54–55.

hit the ground with a thud, and then they were off again. They went toward the Great Lakes, and they have never been seen since. They are manitous of the underworld, and they and the Thunderers are not on good terms with each other. They fear the Thunderers; that could be seen by the way they kept out of the path of the Thunderers. They went low, just a little above our heads. Well for them that the Thunderers were not out at the time looking to see how their grandchildren were faring. They would surely have slain the monsters.

Underworld manitous.—There are a great many manitous down in the world beneath the earth, and over them is one big manitou who is chief of them all. Wīsa'kä put them there, in the world below, to watch over the fire. There is where all the fire we use comes from. Wīsa'kä has made these manitous the owners of the fire, so that when any of the manitous from other places want fire, they have to go to these manitous under the earth, and ask them for it. Wīsa'kä has made the Thunderers share owners of this fire, so that when they need it, as they travel up and down the earth, they need not ask the manitous for it, but can go at once and get it themselves.[16] This is the fire we see in the clouds when the Thunderers are passing along above us in the skies.

Matcikenäpigwa manitōwa.—The name of a manitou living in the earth under the ground. The home of it is said to be about springs, especially sulphur springs, or springs the water of which is unfit to drink. A child that in fasting dreams of this manitou and is then pitied by it will become subject to fits, so it is said.

Apaiyācīhag[1] [17]—They got the source of their life from the manitou. The manitou once fell ill and was about to die and the Apaiyācīhag[1] got their breath from him at the time when he was low and barely breathing. He recovered by and by.

[16] Another Fox belief has it that these manitous under the earth created the fire and it is theirs, even the Thunderers having to obtain it from them. (See W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 214, 1911.)

[17] Jones translates this "The Little-Creatures-of-Caprice" (Fox Texts, p. 79), and gives the episode of their snaring the sun, noting that there is a whole cycle of stories centering on them. Michelson was told by a Fox woman that the word meant "air bubbles following a crack in ice." Other Fox Indians compared them to the Katzenjammer Kids. There are two living Sauk Indians who are thought to be reincarnations of the Apaiyācīhag[1]. Whatever their exact nature, they are manitous, and are credited with having made the bird drawings found on rocks along the Mississippi banks. Many of the stories told about them belong to the well-known Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away cycle. A résumé of three Fox versions of their adventures can be found in Jones-Michelson, Kickapoo Tales, pp. 134–138. For a Kickapoo version see ibid., pp. 67–75. They are also known to the Peoria. (Michelson, unpublished, and the unpublished Mss. of Albert Gatschet, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.)

Iyāpā'tä and the spirit world.[18]—Iyāpā'tä is younger brother to Wīsa'kä and he dwells in a lodge in the spirit world. This place is at the west and beyond where the sun goes down. Iyāpā'tä remains in the lodge most of the time where he sits beating on a drum. The soul [19] of one who has died lingers here on earth 4 days and 4 nights and then goes to this lodge in the spirit world. The path is deep and narrow and leads to a bridge that spans a swift foaming river. The bridge is a log and it rises and falls. Over this the soul passes. On the other shore it hears a drum and the sound of that drum guides it to the lodge. The soul enters the door. Iyāpā'tä sees it and rises. He takes it by the hand as a sign of welcome. He shows it where to sit down and then fetches food. And then he asks about the living. By and by the soul sees the shades of relatives who have gathered to learn of those left in the mortal world. The soul sees other shades; some of them are seated, others are dancing. On going out of the lodge the soul sees the shades of a vast multitude. Some are the shades of people it knew in life. It finds the place pleasant and good to be in.

Mortals go beyond the setting sun when they die. They stay about the earthly home 4 days, and then go west along a deep, narrow path until they come to a river which flows along with great rapidity. Over this river is a bridge which continually moves up and down, and

[18] The concept of the spirit-world has not been completely standardized among the Foxes. There is some evidence that certain individuals, at least, were skeptical concerning the existence of such a place. Cutting Marsh in a letter dated 1835 (Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Colls., 15, pp. 140–141, 1900) records an interesting conversation held with a Sauk chief in which the latter said, "My body is a substance animated in some way by the air, and at death the breath will go out of it and that will be the end of me and I shall be the same as before." A similar philosophy would seem to underlie the explanation made by an old woman to her daughter, that when a person died it was simply as if their tracks ceased (from an unpublished Fox myth collected by Dr. Michelson). The weight of the evidence, however, indicates a rather common belief in a spirit world located beyond the setting sun, a pleasant place where games and dances were always going on, to get to which one had to cross a bridge over a river. Details vary widely, especially as to the nature and extent of difficulties which had to be overcome in getting there. For fairly detailed accounts see the following: T. Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi, p. 209; W. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 207–211; W. Jones, JAFL, 24, pp. 218, 224, 1911; C. Marsh, Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Colls., 15, pp. 133, 149–150, 1900; Marston, *in* J. Morse, Report to the Secretary of War, pp. 138–139; T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 358–359, 399–401, 413–417, 1918.

[19] This soul is located in the heart during life (W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 218, 1911). There are two souls: a small soul, within, given by the Great Manitou, and a large soul, the shadow, given by Wīsa'kä. Only the small soul goes westward at death. This small soul can be reborn four times; it will have a new large soul each time. If the large soul gets too big, the owner will become a murderer (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 357–358).

a thick heavy foam is made in the river. Those who fall off this bridge begin at once to eat this foam, and then they swim about and chew and chew, and their faces are white with the foam. Those who get across safely come to the house of a big manitou who is a brother to Wīsa'kä. There he sits all the time, singing and beating on a drum. There the Indians go and dance, and in that place they live as they do here. Wīsa'kä and his brother each know what the other is doing. Wīsa'kä knows all the Indians who go to his brother's house, because Wīsa'kä and his brother are always holding a council.

Corn.—Tamina [20] (corn) is a manitou, and every little grain is a mortal.[21] The name of each grain is *wipita*. All these grains of corn have feelings like you and me, and when they are taken from the cob and wasted they feel sad and begin to weep. When Wīsa'kä created *tamina*, he made it a food for the people (Foxes). When they eat *tamina*, the manitou goes into every part of the body, and that makes the people strong. The people need not have anything else before them to eat but *tamina*, because it has everything in itself to make them do what they wish. When they travel, they go much farther after eating *tamina* than after eating any other food. *Tamina* is a manitou, and that is why it has so much strength.

Corn is a manitou. That it is a manitou is shown by an after-feeling of satisfaction, by so much added strength after having eaten it. It takes less to satisfy hunger with corn than with any other food. One can travel farther and do more work on corn than on any other food. It can be used in more ways than any other food. Corn does all these things simply because it is a manitou. It was made so when the manitou gave it to the people in times long since gone by.

Turtledove.[22]—A turtledove is called a manitowa mīmīwa for the reason that the sounds it makes are like the sound of the voices of the manitous.

Wâpanōwa Kyäkyä'kwä[a].[23]—This is the name of a bird believed to be a manitou. It is looked upon as a teacher among birds, in that it is the first bird to awake in the morning and announce the coming of day; in that it is the last bird to fly to its roost in the evening because it has first to start all other birds to their homes for the night; in that it knows what kind of weather is in store and warns other birds of the approach of a storm so that they can flee for safety; in that it teaches birds the kind of food to eat, and how to sing their various songs.

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[20] ATĀMINA, "trade berry" (T. Michelson).

[21] Corn should be shelled from the cob with a clamshell, or if one has no shell, with a spoon. A knife should never be used (Annals of Iowa, 19, p. 117, 1933).

[22] The turtledove is regarded as uncanny by the Iroquois also (J. N. B. Hewitt, JAFL, 8, p. 115, 1895).

[23] This must represent an association, real or popular, with the stem ke'ki, "teach," a reduplicated form of which is kegyä'ki (T. Michelson).

NATURE BELIEFS [24]

The Sun.—The Sun is a man and he is our grandfather. His lodge stands at the east, and from there he goes journeying across the sky. His path runs westward and off there, somewhere, it slants downward and turns around by way of the north and back again to the east. It is said that he makes but one stop in all this journey from and to his lodge. It is at noontime, and the stop is for only a little while. It is well that it is so, for if he should tarry long all the earth would go up in a flame.

The Sun is a great manitou. He gives us warmth and light. Yet he is not of a gentle nature, not sympathetic like the Moon, for his behavior is not pleasing when we gaze up at him. Just try looking at him. You will not be long looking, for you will at once need to cover your eyes with your hands and bow your head toward the ground. Your eyes will be closed and yet you will see something strange pass before your vision. At the same time a peculiar feeling will come over you; you will act as if out of your wits; indeed for the moment you will lose all control of your mind. What you see and what you feel is the effect of his mysterious power. We take it to be a sign that perhaps it angers him to be gazed at just merely for the sake of gazing.[25]

Far away toward the east, in the land of the dawn, there is a big lodge which resembles our flag-reed lodges in winter. This is the lodge of Sun, who is the big chief in the land of the dawn. Inside of this lodge, extending all the way around and a little above the ground, is a row of beautiful eagle feathers standing on the ends of their quills against the wall. Sun uses these feathers to give light upon the earth below. In the morning he sticks one of these feathers in his hair and walks over the skies toward the west. And as he walks along, light shines from the tip of his feather and falls upon the earth below. There is no blaze or fire up there, and when Sun is passing the sky is clear everywhere so that we cannot see a single cloud. Only the blue is above us.

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[24] The responsibility for the division of Dr. Jones' material into the chapters Manitou and Nature Beliefs is mine. Under the former caption have been grouped the items which served to illustrate mystic power in general, or to describe the characteristics of definite manitous which from our point of view are wholly or largely mythical. In this chapter will be found the items which illuminate the Indian attitude toward what we should consider concrete natural phenomena. Many of these items could have been placed under either heading. The sun, for instance, is called both man and manitou. The division is arbitrary, and is not intended to carry any implications concerning the native point of view.

[25] Another Fox belief should be mentioned here. Northern lights are said to be the ghosts of slain enemies trying to rise. The sight of them is a sign of war and pestilence (W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 214, 1911).

Now there are some people up there where Sun lives. These people used to live here among us, but after they died they went to live with him. When they were here they were part manitous. Very often Sun sends one of these people out to go in his place. When they are passing over us it is usually cloudy or the day is not clear. It often happens that these persons, who know they are going to the land of the dawn, will call their relatives about them before they die. Then they tell them that if they will watch on a certain day they will see their relative pass. When the day comes, the relatives assemble, and sure enough they see their kinsman passing over them with the feather in his hair. The path over which Sun and these people pass runs straight from the east, from the lodge of Sun to the lodge of Tcīpaiyāpōsw[a] [26] in the west; and from there the path goes around by the north, by the lodge of Wīsa'kä, and then to the lodge of Sun again.

The lodge of the Sun stands at a place in the east. Its form is like the oval flag-reed lodge of the people. Inside the lodge where the wall meets the ground stands a line of eagle feathers, and they reach all the way around. Here the Sun lives and with him are many of our people who once lived among us, but when they died went there to live. When Sun starts out over the sky he sticks one of the feathers in his hair at the back of his head. The light of day shines down on earth from the tip of the feather. The days he goes forth can always be known for they are the clearest. The sky then is blue everywhere. Often the Sun remains at home and sends one of the people in his place. The light is not so bright on such days. Clouds overhang the sky. It often happens that a person knows he is going to dwell in the eastern sky where the Sun is, and before he dies he tells his relatives that on a certain day he will pass across the sky. The relatives will watch for the day. The path of the Sun is westward and down behind the west; then it turns north beneath the earth and back to the east.

The Moon.—The Moon is our grandmother. She is always kind, and when we look up at her she never becomes angry as the Sun often does when we look up at him. When she vanishes we say she dies, but we do not really mean that she is actually dead. Every time she appears during a year we give her a name. The dark shadow we see in her is a Fox Indian pounding hominy in a wooden bowl. He pounds this hominy by sitting down before the bowl, and working the long-handled pounder up and down in the hollow of the bowl. Behind him is another wooden bowl. Into this one he puts the hominy that he has ground in the other bowl.

[26] "The deity presiding over the spirit-world at the setting of the sun. His name while on earth was Iyāpā'tä[a] or Kīyāpā'tä[a], but in the spirit world it is as here given. The meaning of the word refers to the caring for and the ruling over the dead."—W. Jones, Fox Texts, footnote to p. 383.

The Moon is a woman and she is our grandmother. She is of a kindly nature and it never angers her to have us look at her. She is beneficent and gives us good things. There are dark shady spots in the Moon. One is a Fox Indian seated before a mortar. In his two hands is a pestle and he is busy pounding corn and making it into hominy. Behind him and as high as his shoulders is a vessel into which he puts the made hominy. We say the Moon dies every so often, but we are aware of the fact that this is not really true. She simply absents herself for a short while and then she comes back again.

The Earth.—The Earth is our grandmother. Even though the Moon is our grandmother, too, yet she and Earth are not sisters. We love our Grandmother Earth, because she loves us, and is kind and good toward us. She gives us all that we have. She feeds us, and lets us rest on her bosom. And when we die she watches over our bodies and lets our souls linger about the scenes of our former home for 4 days, and then lets them go on their journey to the home in the land beyond the setting Sun. The grasses, reeds, flowers, and trees that grow upon our grandmother are our grandfathers.[27] And these are also good and kind toward us. And this is because our Grandmother Earth has made them so.

The Earth on which we live is a woman, too. She is our grandmother, and she is also a grandmother to Wīsa'kä. She and the people regard each other with good feeling; she loves them and they love her. She provides us with all the food we eat and lets us live and dwell upon her. And when one dies she watches over one's soul; 4 days she watches and then the soul goes westward to the place where the Sun goes down. And the trees that grow upon her are our grandparents. They are kindly toward us, for without them we could do but little.

Trees.—Earth is our grandmother, and she is also the grandmother of Wīsa'kä. The trees that grow upon her are mortals and they are our grandfathers. They talk with each other just as you and I speak to each other, and they know all that is going on about them.

Early in the spring the trees begin to woo. By and by wind comes along and helps them meet. Then we see the trees bend their heads over toward each other until they almost touch, and presently they hold their heads up straight again. Often the whole forest is making love. It is then when we hear from a distance the trees murmuring in low voices.

When the trees are happy, we can hear their pleasant voices laughing. Often the trees are sad, and that makes our hearts sad.

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[27] Referred to frequently in songs and prayers as "Mother-of-all-the-Earth's hair." For one of many such instances see T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 163.

In the fall we see the nuts and fruit in the trees, and then we know what trees were happiest in their love-making. For those that bear fruit are those that married, and the nuts, acorns, and fruit are the children born to them.

We do not like to harm the trees. Whenever we can, we always make an offering of tobacco to the trees before we cut them down. We never waste the wood, but use all that we cut down. If we did not think of their feelings, and did not offer them tobacco before cutting them down, all the other trees in the forest would weep, and that would make our hearts sad, too.

Stars.—Some of the stars are great manitous. Most of the stars one sees are people who have died and gone to dwell in the sky.

Wâpisīpōw[1] [28] is the river of the stars yonder in the sky. Along its shores dwell manitous and people who once lived on earth.

Maskuīgwäw[a] (red-eyed) is the name of the highest star of the evening. He opens wide his eyes to look about over the earth to see how things are doing there. Then he drops down behind the west and returns home. Wâpanananāgwa [29] is another of the big stars.

One star is ever traveling from the north to the south and back again. His path from north to south is by way of the sky, and back from south to north by way of the underworld. The star leaves the lodge of Wīsa'kä and goes to that of Cāwanō[a]. At noon he meets up with the Sun. Both stop for a little rest and gossip and then continue their journeys. It is well that they tarry for so short a time else the earth would rise in a flame from the heat of the Sun. The star makes the lodge of Cāwanō[a] by evening. His journey through the underworld is at night.

Far away in the north in the wigwam of Wīsa'kä lives one of the stars, a great manitou. Every morning Wīsa'kä sends him on a journey to the wigwam of Cāwanō[a], far away to the south. This star travels along a road that leads in a straight line over the heavens from the wigwam of Wīsa'kä to the wigwam of Cāwanō[a]. When the star is directly above us he meets Sun, and they both stop to rest and talk. That is one reason why we also rest and talk at that time of day. Sun does not stop long because he does not like to have us look at him; and besides if he stopped too long, the light from his feather would become so hot that it would burn everything up here on earth. When Sun starts on his way, the star continues his journey until he comes to the wigwam of Cāwanō[a], where the four Thunderers, our guardians, also dwell. The star gives Cāwanō[a] the message sent by Wīsa'kä, and when night comes he returns to the north by way of the underworld. When morning comes he starts again on his journey

[28] Literally "the white river," our Milky Way.

[29] The morning star. The father of the legendary hero WâpAsaiy[a], according to a version of this myth collected by Dr. Michelson.

with a message to Cāwanō[a] from Wīsa'kä. At midday he meets Sun, when they both stop for a very short time, and then he continues on his way to the wigwam of Cāwanō[a] and back again to the north. This the star does every day and every night.

The Big Dipper and autumn colors.[30]—The four stars together are named the bear, and the other three are hunters following after the bear. By the side of the second star is a tiny star; that one is a puppy. The star nearest the bear is named WâpAneciwa. The second one is Mātāpyä[a] (River-that-joins-another). The hunters follow the bear all winter, spring, and summer. In the fall they overtake and slay it. The blood falling down flows out over everything on earth, reddening the leaves of some trees and fading the colors of others. But the bear comes to life again, and the pursuit is on once more. Every fall the bear is overtaken and slain, and every time he comes back to life.

Thunder.—Thunder is like a person. It moves often like a bird. It uses an arrow when it strikes.

Mosquitoes and the Thunderers.—Mosquitoes take home the blood they suck from people. Their home is in the trees. Now and then the mosquitoes hold a kīgäno (clan feast) and it is to the Thunderers. The food in the feast is the blood they have fetched from people. It so happens that the Thunderers have a special fondness for blood. They usually ask the mosquitoes where they obtained the blood. The reply is vague; nothing more than that the blood was obtained. Thereupon the Thunderers begin striking the tree. That is the reason some trees are struck, the Thunderers are after the blood which the mosquitoes have fetched. (The narrator asked me if that was really the fact. He told the tale as if he believed it, yet he was not sure if it was true. He went on to say that it was something that could be found out; that mosquitoes could be watched and that they could be followed after they had sucked blood; and then when the tree in which they lived was found, it could be watched to see if the Thunderers would really strike it.)

The land of rocks.—At the approach of winter all the birds that go away go off into the air, far up above. Up there is a place where there are many rocks. There the birds dwell until it is time for them to return to earth again. In that place up there the pheasant is the ruler. The place is between the earth and the place where the sun travels.

Crows.—It is believed that crows know a good deal about herbs for healing the sick. They are looked upon as wise birds and as knowing

[30] For another version of this myth see W. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 71–75. This myth is particularly interesting because of its similarity to certain Huron beliefs. See C. M. Barbeau, Huron and Wyandot Mythology.

about hidden secrets. Nevertheless people kill them when they get to stealing the planted corn.

Pecäwa (*grand-daddy-long-legs*).[31]—He is sometimes called mänakuca because of his unpleasant smell. He and we are good friends. We often ask him where his family is by saying:

"Pecäwi tätepi tca kepecäwagi?
Pecäwi tätepi tca kepecäwagi?"

which is "O grand-daddy-long-legs, where are they, grand-daddy-long-legs?" and he will answer by pointing with a leg.

Flint.—It is believed that there is a thick layer of flint far down beneath the surface of the earth. The Indians claim that all the flint they use comes from this source and that only they know where to look for it. This flint is looked upon as a manitou. The first fire in a new lodge is kindled with sparks from a flint. Men who do a good deal of deer hunting prefer a flaked flint to a knife for skinning.

Lead.—Buffaloes are believed to be manitous. It is said that they have disappeared under the ground where they now live. Lead is spoken of as buffaloes. This was said of them even at the time when they were numerous.

Medicine (Natawinona)[32]

Frog medicine (*Kunwäskäwi nätawinōn*[i]).—This is the name of a medicine used for raising an erection. The bones of the frog are pulverized into a powder and applied to the penis.

Medicine in a ball game.—A Fox rubs medicine on his body and stick with the idea that the medicine will give him power over his opponent and hence bring him victory. It is the belief that the medicine has the effect of weakening the opponent. When both sides are using medicine that one used by the victor is counted the stronger.

Hunting medicine.[33]—The *natawinona* [34] which hunters use when they are hunting is a very bad thing. This is the reason. Suppose a hunter gets on the track of a deer. He at once takes the *natawinona*

[31] Doubtless European. See, for example, H. G. Shearin, JAFL, 24, p. 319, 1911.

[32] For additional information on medicine bundles for aid in hunting, love, gambling, or injuring fellow tribesmen see M. R. Harrington, Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians. For an account of a man who had medicine by means of which he could kill his fellow tribesmen without being detected, see T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 85, 93–95, etc. Note the Fox belief that the ground where a person possessing evil medicine has sat will smell bad.

[33] There is a legend which tells how this hunting medicine, along with power over women and power to win in games, was asked for and obtained from Wīsa'kä (W. Jones, JAFL, 24 pp. 209–211, 1911).

[34] Ordinary medicine is inanimate and is written natawinon[i] (T. Michelson).

out of his bag, sprinkles the *natawinona* into the tracks made by the deer, and keeps on doing this until he sees the deer. Now who knows how many people will cross this trail after the hunter has sprinkled the *natawinona*? All those who do will become weak and presently will die. This *natawinona* is very strong; so strong indeed that a hunter must live far away from everybody else; because if he had near neighbors they would be in danger of crossing his path while he was pursuing a deer, and then some one of them would die.

Color Symbolism

Color symbols for the four seasons.—A parfleche made by Jennie Davenport of buffalo skin in Kansas around 1850–1860 was obtained. She explained the colors as follows: green for spring; yellow for summer, the season of ripening; red for autumn; black for winter.

Green[35] *and white.*—White and green signify peace. When a proposal of peace is offered, a long red stone pipe is given to a group of four or five young men to take. The warriors appoint the young men, and appoint one of the number as bearer of the pipe. The red stone of the pipe remains as it is without decoration, but the wooden stem is decorated in white and green. Often the white and green are each represented in the colors of the ribbons which are tied to the stem.

White.[36]—White (obtained from white clay) is the color of the Kicko phratry at a ball game [and other ceremonial occasions].

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[35] Green paint is the special paint of the Bear gens, in which the chieftainship is hereditary. (T. Michelson, Smith. Misc. Colls., 77, No. 2, 1924.) Green is the color of the chief's family among the Sauk, also, although the leading gens is the Sturgeon (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 36, 1923).

Dorsey reports that the Winnebago associate green with the south (Eleventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 553). Such statements as we have on Fox associations of color with the cardinal points are fragmentary and somewhat contradictory, but we are told that the green Wapanowa bird (p. 12) sits at the west (T. Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 59, 69).

[36] White wampum belts were used to denote desire for peace and friendship (Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 185).

Members of the Kicko phratry sit on the south on ceremonial occasions, and the association of white with south seems to be quite fixed among the Foxes (T. Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 13; Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 87, etc.), although an informant once located the white Wapanowa at the east (Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 69). Since the same informant had the white Wapanowa sitting at the south later in the narrative (p. 87) and had previously described the Wapanowa in the east as red, this statement was probably a slip. According to Dorsey the Winnebago associate white with north (loc. cit.), but the Fox identification seems to be rather with daylight, life, and light (T. Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 13 and footnote).

Red.[37]—Red signifies hostility. Red is put on just before battle. Red is used in the war dance. Warriors sometimes put it on in council. Red is used by women for decorative purposes.

Blue.[38]—Blue is used mainly by the younger men for decorative purposes. It is not used by women except at a ball game when the two phratries are divided.

Black.—Black in the form of charcoal is used by the To'kan phratry at a ball game [and other ceremonial occasions].

Black is used by a person fasting. Women paint merely the cheek bones, the paint being put on round; the men paint, some thick, some just a little all over the face.

Dyes.—A ma'kotaskimota[h1],[39] made about 1801 of the ravels from trade blankets, was obtained. The dyes used in obtaining the colors were as follows: *Black*, from the roots of walnut trees. The root is boiled and then strained. *Red*, from the otopi,[40] a tree growing north and northeast of Iowa. The bark is dried, and when soaked in water the fluid becomes red. *Blue*, from the blue ravel of the original blanket. *Yellow*, from the boiled root of asawasi'kani,[41] a plant growing in Iowa.

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[37] A belt of blue wampum painted red was used to denote solicitation to join in hostility against some other power (Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 239).

Red is the special paint of the War Chief gens (T. Michelson, Smith. Misc. Colls., 77, No. 2, 1924).

In the scalp dance the scalp was tied to an oak stick painted red, and a woman held it. "It must be painted red, for girls desire that when fasting" (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 579).

Forsyth reports that young people use vermilion when they think of marrying (loc. cit., p. 236).

The red WAPANOWA sits at the east (T. Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 59). Dorsey obtained an association of red with west from the Winnebago (Eleventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 553).

One informant explained the symbolism in placing red feathers on the north side of a ceremonial mound by the following chain of ideas: red→war→evil→darkness→north (T. Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 13).

[38] In forming alliances wampum belts were made of white wampum interspersed with diamondlike figures of blue wampum, representing the nations with whom they are in alliance (Forsyth, loc. cit., p. 185).

[39] I have not been able to find a translation for this.

[40] Not in Huron Smith's Ethnobotany of the Meskwaki.

[41] Smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra* L.), Huron Smith, loc. cit., p. 271.

WITCHES, EVIL SPIRITS, AND GHOSTS [42]

Witches.[43]—There are witches among us. We must never do anything to anger them. If we do, we shall surely suffer for it. They travel about at night, and as they pass along they emit large flashes of light from their mouths. Very often they light up the whole landscape with these flashes of light. Often we can hear them pass by the hissing sound they make.

It is impossible to kill a witch on the spot where it is shot, even though the witch were shot through the heart. It goes home, and on the fourth day its wound begins to pain, and then it is the witch begins to feel its wound. Very often a person becomes suddenly ill, and in a very short time, dies. Sometimes a person dies without any illness at all; simply drops down suddenly and is no more. The cause of a person's dying this way is that he has been a witch.

Witches do their evil deeds in a great many ways. Often a witch

[42] The unsystematic nature of Fox supernatural beliefs is very well brought out in the material contained in this chapter. Ghosts, evil spirits, witches, supernatural beings, and even living Indians carry on their nefarious practices in the same guise, that of the spirit-bear. This spirit-bear is quite definitely conceived and seems to be the core to which the other beliefs have been assimilated.

[43] Dr. Michelson has a note bearing on this subject (Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 4), important enough to be reprinted here in full: "The ordinary Fox word for witch is mänetōwe'sitA, a participle of manetōwe'sīwA, 'he, she is a witch.' This has exactly the same main stem as manetōwīwA, 'he, she has the nature of a manitou'; the former has the animate copula -e'si-, the latter has the auxiliary -i-. The same stem occurs in manetōwA, 'supernatural spirit', etc., and manetōwi, 'supernatural power.' Compare W. Jones, The Algonkin Manitou, JAFL, vol. 18, New York and Boston, 1905, p. 184 (inferentially), and T. Michelson, Notes on the Great Sacred Pack of the Thunder Gens of the Fox Indians, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1930, p. 55. Sauk has an exact equivalent of manetōwe'sīwA and is also used in a malevolent sense. Compare A. Skinner, Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, vol. 5, No. 1, Milwaukee, 1923, p. 55. Apparently Ojibwa also has, but the meaning is rather different. Algonkin has an exact equivalent also, but the meaning is rather 'he is a sorcerer,' etc., whether malevolent or not can not be determined from the published material. (It may be added that there are several derivatives of the stem manetōw- in several Algonquian languages, some with malevolent ideas, some with beneficent. Note especially Fox manetō'kā'sōwA, 'he conjures for a miracle,' has an exact equivalent in Plains Cree manetō'kāsow; the Fox word literally means 'he, she pretends to be a manitou.' Fox nemanetōmi, 'my mystic power,' is, I think, used only in a malevolent sense. Fox manetōwimigAtwi means 'it is laden with manitou power,' and applies only to what is inanimate; e. g., a sacred pack [mīcāmi]. Fox mī'ckawe'sīwA means 'he, she is physically or mystically powerful'; from it is derived mī'ckawe'siweni, an abstract noun, 'power.') A less common word in Fox for 'witch' is nänā'kawe'sitA, nänā'kawe'si'A, the former being a participle, the second an animate noun; both are derived from nAnā'kawe'siwA, 'he, she is a witch.' This last is derived from the stem nAnā'kawi-, 'make sport of, play a prank on,' with the animate copula mentioned above; nAnā'kawi- rarely is found unreduplicated, and when then combined with the instrumental participle -'w- (-a'w-), means 'to bewitch'; note the compound nAnā'kawinātawinōni, 'witch-medicine,' p. 5."

will come up to a person when he does not know it, and lay its hand on his shoulder. By and by there comes a pain in that person's shoulder where the witch touched him. Often a person has a swelling in the leg when there is no reason for it.[44] That swelling was caused by a witch touching his leg.

The power of a witch to do harm is very strong, and a witch can do a wicked act upon a person very far away from it. A witch carries a kind of *natawinona* around with it about the size of one of our thumbs. When a witch wishes to do some wicked act upon a person, it speaks to the *natawinona*, tells it where to go, what person to strike, where upon the person's body to strike, and in what way to affect the person. If the person is in a lodge, the *natawinona* always enters by way of the door.

A great many of the Bears (gens of the Bear were meant.—W. J.)[45] are witches. We sometimes see them in the path ahead of us throwing flashes of light from their mouths, and grunting with a low, deep voice at every step they take.

There are four manitous who watch over the graves of the dead.[46]

[44] See also p. 29.

[45] Compare the statement that there is no difference between a bear and a member of the Bear clan (W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 216, 1911). Compare also the statement by a Fox informant on the shamanistic tricks performed by members of the Bear gens, members of the WâpanōwiweniI being the greatest adepts (T. Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 4–5). Note also the statement that persons belonging to the WâpanōwiweniI had to be members of the Bear or War Chief gentes (ibid., p. 5). The chieftainship was hereditary in the Bear gens.

[46] Graves are still watched, and the killing of the witch is not left to manitous. Dr. Michelson was one of the watchers on one occasion. A young girl had just died, of pulmonary tuberculosis, but the family felt sure she had been witched. So a concealed pit was dug near the grave, and four Indians hid there to watch. But they got tired and gave it up before the night was over. A new group of watchers was recruited for the next night, and Dr. Michelson was asked to be one, on the grounds that witches wouldn't bother white people. He was led to the pit, already occupied by three Indians with double-barreled shotguns, and given instructions to shoot any owl, dog, or turkey that should appear near the grave. In the morning they asked if he had seen anything, and he replied that he had heard an owl hooting, but that it was too far away to be connected with the case. They assured him that he should have shot at it, anyway.

On the fourth night, somewhat after midnight, he heard a rustling sound, and it seemed to be coming right toward the grave. Then he felt certain that he heard a girl's voice, and jumped up, gun cocked. Then he heard a boy's voice, and uncocked the gun, using it to knock down the Indians, who had also jumped up, guns ready. There were several anxious moments before the young couple got out of the way, as the Indians were in a frame of mind to shoot.

Another episode bears witness to the sincerity of their belief. A Fox Indian told Dr. Michelson that once he was watching a grave, and a dog came up to the grave and tapped four times. He shot and killed the dog. In the morning he discovered that it was his own dog, one for which he had paid $10 only the week before. Dr. Michelson asked if the family of the deceased had made good his loss, but the Indian's point of view was quite different. "Oh, I was glad to be rid of a witch," he said.

They do not take their places directly beside the grave, but assemble at a place northwest and about 10 steps from it. Three of the manitous lie down to sleep, while one stands and watches. Now witches have a manner of visiting the graves of the dead by night. A witch is heard approaching a grave by a low whirring sound that it makes. When it alights by the grave it wishes to visit, its feet make a sudden, heavy thud when they strike the ground. If the witch stamps upon the ground, the dead will rise from the grave, and walk about with the witch. But before the witch stamps upon the ground, the manitou walks up to the witch and holds it tightly. Sometimes the manitou asks a witch why it has come to the grave, and then sends it away, telling it never to come again. But usually the manitou arouses the other manitous, and all four of them take the witch and cut its body into ever so many small pieces which they then scatter round about the grave.[47] As soon as it begins to grow light the four manitous depart. They return to their places when it begins to grow dark again.

Witches are abroad at dusk and again before daybreak or thereabouts. They flash as they go along. They can enter a lodge, but this they do only at a time when the inmates are supposed to be asleep and it is dark inside the lodge. They cannot be seen, even if a light is made as soon as it is known that a witch has entered, for a witch turns at once into a feather.[48]

A man walking along in the dark came to a secluded place where he suddenly felt his hair rise. He knew the rising of his hair was due to the presence of a spirit-bear. He knew also that it was not good to run from it, so he kept straight on his way. Sure enough, he met the bear. The bear kept on his side of the road and the man on his. It can be known sometimes when these bears are out. This is by the flashes they make from their nostrils.

A'kīgänepyäwätcigi me'tosäneniwahi.[49]—These are witches (men or women) that draw on the ground the picture of a man to be bewitched, and the person is bewitched at that part of the body where the picture is pierced. A person thus bewitched is hard to cure. This kind of witch, like the others, is taught its mystery by another witch,

[47] These beliefs do not square very well with the ordinary Fox beliefs regarding the soul and what happens to it after death. It seems probable that we are dealing with beliefs taken over from the voyageurs and only partially assimilated to native concepts.

[48] The belief that a witch can turn into a feather recurs again and again in the mythology of more northern Indian tribes.

[49] "Those who draw human beings on the ground" (T. Michelson).

and then it is handed down. One witch transmits its medicine to another, so a witch may be a young man, a young woman, an old man, or an old woman; anyone, that is, who is old enough to be able to keep a secret.

Wämesinenīhemita.—Mesinenīha ("whole man") is a *nītcāpa* (a doll).[50] One that owns a doll is a *Wämesinenīhemita*, and may be man or woman. The *Mesinenīha* is kept by a witch, kept in concealment. A witch wishing to do someone an injury goes off into hiding, and there takes it out from its wrapping. The witch will pierce it with something sharp on some part, as in the chest, hip, temple, etc., and thus bewitch the person it has in mind. This kind of witch, like the others, is killed.[51] Wherever the doll is pierced, at that part of the body will the bewitched person be afflicted.

Those who know about ghosts.—There have been certain persons among us who have visited the place beyond where the sun falls down; they have gone to visit the folk who once lived but have long since been dead. Such persons have told how souls revisit the scenes once familiar in life. They are the ones who have told how souls come, how they take on various forms: as for instance, some are like bears; others are like a particular bird, as a turkey,[52] for example; and still others are like dogs. The time of their coming is at night, and then only. They come without noise and with soft step. One does not hear them, even when suddenly face to face with them. It is only when they are in haste that one hears them; the sound they make is a long shrill whistle every so often.[53] It often happens, however, that a ghost in the form of a bear is heard. It swings slowly along with a grunt at every step of the foot, and with every grunt comes a flash of fire from the mouth which lights up the path in front.

[50] For a description and photograph of such a doll, see M. R. Harrington, Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians. (The ordinary word for doll. See Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 297, line 5.)

[51] For a song to be sung if one's child had been slain by a witch, see T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 160. If the proper procedure was followed, the witch would die. I take Jones' statement to mean, however, that if a person were known to be a witch, the Indians did not wait for supernatural aid, but took direct and summary action.

[52] Marston (in J. Morse, Report to the Secretary of War, 1820) was told by a Fox Indian that the spirit of a newly buried Indian had been seen near his grave in the shape of a turkey (p. 139). A. Skinner in discussing the Sauk belief in human beings who turn themselves into bears, fowls, dogs, wolves, turkeys, or owls in order to destroy their enemies, says that this belief is common among the Central Algonquians, Southern Siouans, and even Iroquois and Algonquians of the east (Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 55, 1923).

[53] An amplification of this statement is to be found in W. Jones, JAFL, 24, p. 218, 1911.

Such persons who know the life in the spirit world and the ways of ghosts have come into the world with a dark complexion of the skin.[54] They have power of vision. The power comes by virtue of the manitou nature within them. One with light complexion seldom, if ever, obtains such power. Yet not every dark individual has the power. It is granted only to a few.

The combing of hair.[55]—Our women never comb their hair in the house. They always go off from the house and sit down under some tree where it is pleasant, and there comb their hair. No man goes out there with them. If a man goes where women are combing their hair, he will get sick, or something bad will happen to him. Our women never comb in the house, because if they did, they would not be well and strong as they are. Some women are witches and it isn't good for them to comb in the house. Someone will be sick, sure. Men can comb in the house or anywhere. They have nothing about them that will give bad luck to other people.

Evil spirits.—It is believed that an evil spirit is abroad at night, and so the entrance into the lodge must be closed to keep it out. The evil spirit goes about with a spoon with which it pours into the mouths of the sleepers an evil drug. The drug has evil effects.

MYTHOLOGY [56]

MYTHS

1. WĪSAʻKÄ FRIGHTENS THE POKWIAKI (QUAILS) AND IS IN TURN FRIGHTENED BY THEM [57]

One day when Wīsaʻkä was walking through a meadow, he met some young quails playing about in the grass and bushes. They at once huddled together when they saw Wīsaʻkä coming. When

[54] Compare with the following: " 'He probably indeed has the nature of a manitou', the men said of him. And he indeed had brown eyes" (T. Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 55).

[55] It is not clear here whether women are not to comb in the house because of the harmful consequences they themselves will suffer, or because of what will happen to other people. It seems probable that there has been a fusion of two elements: fear of the effects of women's dandruff (this plays a part in the Apaiyācihagi cycle—see Jones-Michelson, Kickapoo Tales, pp. 134–138); and the use of hair in witchcraft. One of the bundles obtained by Harrington at Tama had love medicine tied with hair. (See M. R. Harrington, Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians.)

[56] The bulk of the published Fox mythology is to be found in William Jones, Fox Texts, AES-P, I, 1907. His unpublished notes contained tales not previously published. These are given in this collection. Comparative notes are to be found at the end of the chapter.

[57] Michelson could not find this tale among the Foxes, although he asked for it repeatedly. He is therefore inclined to consider it individual rather than tribal knowledge.

Wīsa'kä came up to where they were he stooped down and began to caress their little necks and backs. Wīsa'kä smiled as he was doing this. Then he asked one little quail, "What is your name, my younger brother?"

"I am little Pokwi," he replied.

Wīsa'kä asked the same question of every one, and each time came the answer, "I am little Pokwi."

Wīsa'kä was very much amused. When he was done laughing, he gathered them all underneath him as he squatted over them, and then flatulated very loudly. This frightened the quails so badly that they flew away in every direction. By and by Mother Quail returned home and found that her little ones were gone. She went out to look for them. She called and called for a long time, and after a good deal of trouble she found all her children.

Mother Quail began to scold because they had wandered from home while she was away. The little ones answered that Wīsa'kä had come while she was gone and that when he had done asking them their names he laughed at them and frightened them away. When the mother heard this, she asked her children how it was that their elder brother frightened them. They told her and she became very angry.

Mother Quail did not say anything. She began to think of the places she knew Wīsa'kä was in the habit of visiting when he was out on his walks. Off she went on a run, and all her young ones in a line behind her. Presently she saw Wīsa'kä coming toward her through the woods.

Now the path along which Wīsa'kä was coming led to a deep hollow, and over this hollow lay a big log. Mother Quail ran down under this log, gathered her children closely about her, and whispered, "He is going to cross over on this log, and as soon as he steps on it, every one of us will suddenly fly out and imitate with our wings the noise which he made when he frightened you."

Wīsa'kä came walking along with his head down. He walked upon the log and stepped directly over the quails. Just at that moment out flew the quails, making a loud whirring with their wings. This was so sudden that it frightened Wīsa'kä, and, losing his balance, he tumbled backward into the hollow. This fall hurt Wīsa'kä very much for a little while, and it angered him to have a trick like that played on him. But when he got up to see who it might be who did it, he found that it was the quails which he himself had frightened not very long before. He did not punish them for it but went on his way.

Ever since that day quails have continued to make that whirring sound which those made when they frightened Wīsa'kä.

2. HOW SKUNK LOST MOST OF HIS STRENGTH

One day Skunk sat lazily in the entranceway of his dwelling place among the rocks, smoking his pipe. "I think I shall go hunting today," he said to himself, "because I think it is a good day to hunt and perhaps I may kill something."

So he put away his pipe, went down the rocks and out into the meadows, and then into some woods. As he walked quietly along looking this way and that way for game he met Wīsa'kä, who likewise was out hunting.

"Hello, my younger brother!" said Wīsa'kä as he took Skunk by the hand. He then asked him, "Are you hunting, too?"

"Yes," replied Skunk, "I thought I would get out to see what I could kill."

Then the two sat down on the grass and talked for a long time of different things, for they had not seen each other for many days and they were very happy to meet in this way alone.

Wīsa'kä always carried his bow and arrow wherever he went. He had them this day. Now Skunk had the name of being one of the greatest marksmen in the world. Wīsa'kä had heard of this, and so he challenged Skunk to a shooting contest. The target was to be a tree far away on the side of a mountain.

Skunk agreed to shoot with Wīsa'kä. Wīsa'kä shot first, and his arrow pierced the center of the tree, splitting the tree from the ground to the branches. A big noise came down the mountain.

"That is a good shot!" exclaimed Skunk. "Now let me see what I can do." So Skunk faced about in the opposite direction from the tree and shot.

Wīsa'kä at once put his hand over his mouth and nose, and gave a long-drawn-out groan and whistle. He was about to turn his back toward Skunk to avoid the smell when Skunk began to be angry at what Wīsa'kä was doing. Wīsa'kä saw this and took his hand down from his nose and mouth. Then he changed the sound of his groan and whistle in such a manner that it sounded as if he was amazed at the wonderful shot Skunk made.

"That is a wonderful shot!" exclaimed Wīsa'kä. "That is even better than one can do with a bow and arrow. Yes, I believe it now, you are a good shot!"

Skunk felt so happy over the words Wīsa'kä said that he gave Wīsa'kä four *anonani* (the nearest English equivalent for this inanimate plural in this place is *four rounds* of ammunition). "Take them," said Skunk, as he handed them over to Wīsa'kä, "and use them when you go hunting next time."

The two separated and each started homeward. When Wīsa'kä arrived home he showed his Grandmother Earth the *anonani* which Skunk gave him.

"My grandson," she said, "you take those things out of this lodge as quickly as you can and throw them away! They are not good for you to carry around."

Wīsa'kä went out of the lodge as his grandmother bade him but he did not mean to throw them away without trying them on something. He saw a tree standing a long distance from him. Then he started to throw these *anonani* at it. The first one made an awful smell. The second one was worse. When Wīsa'kä threw the fourth one the smell was so strong that the country for a great distance round about smelled very bad. No living thing could stand its power.

Skunk was sitting in the entranceway of his dwelling among the rocks when Wīsa'kä began throwing the *anonani*. Skunk heard them hit against the tree and exclaimed, "My elder brother must be hunting! Perhaps he is coming to see me and to bring me something of what he kills." But Wīsa'kä did not come, and more than that, when Wīsa'kä threw the fourth *anona* Skunk lost the great power of his strength for shooting.

Before this time Skunk could kill at a long distance. Not so today. His power to do harm is only at short distance now. This all came about because Grandmother Earth told Wīsa'kä to throw the *anonani* away. It was this throwing away of the *anonani* that took away the strength of Skunk. If Wīsa'kä had returned them, Skunk would have retained his strength.

3. HOW TURTLE LOST HIS PLACE AMONG THE GREAT MANITOUS

One day when Wīsa'kä was walking alone, he saw Turtle coming toward him. "There comes that creature! Going to see another woman, I suppose," said Wīsa'kä to himself smilingly. Then he sat down on the grass to await Turtle.

Turtle was walking along with his head down, seeming to be in deep thought. When Wīsa'kä called, "Hello, Turtle! Going to see another woman I suppose?" Turtle threw his head up and stopped. "Hello, elder brother. What are you doing here?" said Turtle, very much amazed to see Wīsa'kä.

"Nothing," replied Wīsa'kä. "I saw you coming toward me, so I sat here to wait for you. I thought perhaps you would tell me who this woman is you are going to see."

"Don't speak about that," said Turtle, looking very serious. "I am going to see no woman. I am out walking as you are." Then looking at Wīsa'kä he asked, "Would you do something if I ask you?"

"I don't know," replied Wīsa'kä. "Tell me what it is and I will see."

"It is to join me in a shooting contest," replied Turtle. "See that tree far off yonder?"

"Yes," replied Wīsa'kä, perceiving Turtle's object in proposing the contest.

"Well," said Turtle, "we will shoot at that to see who is the better shot."

"All right," said Wīsa'kä. "You shoot first."

Turtle's arrow only grazed the bark off one side of the tree. Then Wīsa'kä shot, hitting the tree in the center and splitting it. And as usual after he has shot his arrow, and it has struck, there followed a heavy rumbling and the world shook.

"You have beaten me this time," said Turtle, starting to go, adding as he walked off, "I would shoot again with you, but I must go over here to a dwelling."

Wīsa'kä started off in the opposite direction, but stopped when he was out of Turtle's view. Then taking a roundabout way so Turtle could not see him, Wīsa'kä arrived at the dwelling before him. When Turtle came he pulled away very gently the curtain over the entrance, and peeped in. He saw a beautiful young woman seated by the fire, busy at her needlework. "That is the prettiest woman I have ever seen!" thought Turtle to himself. He withdrew his head, pulled the curtain back over its place, and hurried over to the lodge of his brother.

When the brother came in he noticed that Turtle had on his most beautiful clothes. He was painting his face when his brother said, "She must be a very pretty woman you are going to see. I never saw you dress so carefully as this. Who is she? What is her name?"

"Hush your mouth," replied Turtle. "Everyone who meets me asks me what woman I am going to see, who she is, and what her name is, as though I spent all my time with women. I am dressing up because I wish to appear well."

The brother made no reply. When Turtle got ready to go he asked, "Brother, may I take the medicine bag out with me for a little while?"

"What for?" asked the brother.

"If I tell you will you let me take it?" begged Turtle.

"That is a hard question to answer, my brother," replied the brother.

"Then I will tell you why I want the medicine bag," said Turtle, who was now becoming impatient. "Over in that lodge is the most beautiful woman I ever saw. I don't know who she is, nor her name. I am going to woo her, and the only possible way for me to win her is to have this medicine bag with me."

"Oh no!" said the brother. "You can't use this medicine bag for that purpose. Wīsa'kä gave us these medicine bags to hang in our lodges to drive away Pänäni. (Personified death and evil, present in battle, in time of sickness, hunger, famine, etc.—W. J.) They are

to hang in our lodges until we move. No, you must not take this medicine bag."

The brother then went out of the lodge. Turtle watched him until he had disappeared from view. Then he put the medicine bag under his robe and stole out of the lodge.

Arriving at the lodge where the beautiful woman was, Turtle stopped at the entrance to pull the robe over his head. Then he pulled the blanket aside gently, and walked in. He went by her without saying anything to her, and sat down in a place where he could look into her face. She went on with her sewing without looking up or taking the least notice of Turtle.

By and by, when he had stared into her face for some time, he coughed very gently. She raised her eyes and smiled softly. Turtle was happy, and at once began to talk and ask questions. At first the young woman only smiled, but after a while became bolder and so replied to his questions. Turtle stayed in the lodge a long time and would not leave when the young woman told him. It was beginning to be dark when Turtle, thinking that the young woman liked him very much, asked her, "You and I are going to marry each other, are we not?"

"No," she replied. "I am not going to marry you. I am young yet, and I am not prepared. Are you not going home?"

Turtle sat there, believing yet that the young woman liked him. Seeing that he was not preparing to leave, she rose, put away her sewing, and said, "I am going home now, before it gets too dark." Then she lifted the curtain and went out of the lodge.

After a while Turtle followed after her and overtook her. He put one arm around her waist, and they walked side by side until the young woman said, "I am tired and sleepy; I will lie down here to rest."

Turtle was very happy to hear the young woman say she wished to lie down. He hurried around to find a place for her to rest. He found an anthill, but did not know at the time it was one, because the night was so dark.

As the young woman lay down, Turtle put the medicine bag underneath her head, then lay beside her. By and by Turtle put one of his arms under her head for the young woman to rest on, then placed the other hand on the lower part of her body. In that position Turtle fell into a deep sleep. The young woman then quietly rose and Wīsa'kä resumed his own form again. He took up the medicine bag and started for his home in the north, leaving Turtle sound asleep.

Turtle slept until the Sun began to show himself, when the ants began to come out of the hill and sting him. Turtle smiled with his eyes yet closed, embraced the anthill, and whispered, "Don't tickle me that way, because you wake me."

The ants ran all over Turtle and bit him so much and in so many places that he opened his eyes. When he saw what he had been embracing and what awoke him, he jumped to his feet. The young woman was gone—so was the medicine bag. Nowhere could he find her tracks, to find which way she had gone. Then Turtle was very much alarmed because he thought that she must be a manitou.

Turtle became very sad. He did not mind so much being fooled by a woman as he did to lose the medicine bag on account of a woman. He went to his brother's lodge, told him everything that had happened, and showed him how badly he felt because he had taken the medicine bag without his consent. Turtle then set out in search of the lost medicine bag. He went everywhere in this world, but could not find it anywhere. He went to the east, where Sun lives. It was not there. Then he went to the south, where Shawana and the Thunderers live. It was not to be found there. He went to the west, where Tcīpaiyā-pōsw[a] lives. He did not find it there. Then he visited the places under the earth where manitous live. He could not find it there. Then he went up to the White River where the Great Manitou and other manitous live, but he did not find the medicine bag there. Then Turtle felt very sad. He was tired traveling so long and so far. He sat down and thought to himself thus: "There is just one place where I have not gone—That is where Wīsa'kä lives, and that will be the hardest journey. I wonder if he could have been that young woman! He was the last one I saw before I saw her the first time. I will go to his lodge. If I don't find the medicine bag there, then I don't know where else to go to find it."

Then Turtle rose and started toward the north where Wīsa'kä lives. The journey was so long and hard that when Turtle arrived at Wīsa'kä's lodge he was so weary that he could scarcely walk any farther. He entered the lodge and found Wīsa'kä seated by the fire and Grandmother Earth seated upon the raised platform.

"Hello, my younger brother!" said Wīsa'kä, welcoming Turtle. "Come sit down here by me. You look tired."

Turtle did as Wīsa'kä told him. Wīsa'kä then rose and fetched food and placed it upon a mat before Turtle. Turtle ate until he could eat no more. Then while he was admiring the beautiful things in the lodge from the place where he sat, Wīsa'kä asked, "My younger brother, why have you come to my lodge? I never asked you to come."

Turtle replied, "My elder brother, I lost my brother's medicine bag. I have been everywhere in the world, and everywhere else where the manitous live, and I can't find it. This is the only place where I have not gone to, and that is why I came here, so as to find my brother's medicine bag."

"It is here," replied Wīsa'kä. "Come, and I will show it to you."

Turtle followed Wīsa'kä out of the lodge. They went into another lodge where there were ever so many medicine bags. In among these was the one belonging to Turtle's brother. Wīsa'kä returned it to him and Turtle set out for home with it. When he arrived there, he gave it to his brother.

It happened one day when Turtle was walking alone along the bank of a river that he met Wīsa'kä. "You are just the one I wish to see," said Wīsa'kä to Turtle. "You took your brother's medicine bag one day from his lodge when he told you not to do it. Then you went to woo a young woman and lost the medicine bag. You came to my lodge to find it, and I returned it. Now listen to what I tell you. You can no longer be a great manitou because of what you have done. Hereafter your home will be in the water. But I give this one great power: You will know the medicine which can head off *Nokanowa* before it crosses the river. (*Nokanowa*, probably akin to "breath of life"—personified as living in the breast of man during life. When man is ill *Nokanowa* crosses the river to the land of Tcīpaiyāpōsw[a]. If it remains there, the man dies. Hence the power of this medicine which Turtle knows is capable of keeping back *Nokanowa* on this side of the river. Since *Nokanowa* can only live in the breast of man or in the land beyond the river, it will come back into the breast of man if prevented from crossing the river. Hence Turtle, by knowing the medicine which has this power is able to give man long life.—W. J.) When men come to you and ask you for this medicine, tell them where to find it."

Then Wīsa'kä threw Turtle into the water of the river. There Turtle lives to this day. He is yet a manitou, but not the great manitou he used to be.

4. THE FIGHT BETWEEN LONG CLAWS AND SKUNK

Far off in the north there used to be an entrance to a cave deep down in the earth. In this deep cave lived a manitou which the people who lived in that day called Long Claws. This was because his claws were really very long. No other creature lived in this cave but Long Claws.

Long Claws looked like a bear. He was also as big as a bear. He could run very fast. He could climb a tree as fast as he could run along the ground. Only one thing he could not do, that is, he could not swim. So the only way people or animals had of escaping him was to jump into a river or pond, and then they were safe. He used to like to have the creatures which he chased climb trees because it was then easy for him to overtake them. His claws were made just for climbing. While he walked along on the ground his claws rapped against each other and made a kind of rattling noise. No one sees

Long Claws now. Even when he was seen long ago by the people it was indeed very, very seldom.

One day this Long Claws and Skunk happened to meet in the woods. Long Claws had heard a great deal about Skunk as a fighter, and the peculiar way he fought. Long Claws did not like Skunk at all. Skunk had also heard what a dangerous creature Long Claws was, and how everything was afraid of him. But Skunk was not afraid of Long Claws. That was the time when Skunk was really a great manitou.

Long Claws sat upon his haunches and Skunk sat upon his, and each looked at the other for some time without saying a word. By and by Long Claws thought that if he talked very big to Skunk he would make a great impression upon hin. And so he began, "You little black smelling creature, don't you know that I have you now, and that I am going to kill you! You little coward! Why don't you stand up face to face with the one you fight, instead of fighting with your face turned the other way! How you run like a coward and make everything smell so no one can catch hold of you!"

Long Claws did not mean all he was saying. He wished to frighten Skunk, and also to make sport of him.

Skunk did not say anything. He simply sat still and looked at Long Claws. Long Claws spoke another time, "Now, Skunk, I am going to strike at you four times with my forepaws. The fourth time I strike at you I am going to kill you dead, unless you say you are afraid of me. If you say you are afraid of me, then I shall let you live. Now look out, here is the first one!"

Thereupon Long Claws gave forth a loud roar and shook the claws of his two front feet very close over Skunk's head, so as to make Skunk think he was surely going to die. He took his paws down, looked at Skunk for a moment, and asked, "Are you afraid of me?" Skunk shook his head and said, "I am not afraid of you."

Long Claws roared and shook his claws over Skunk's head another time and then another, and then the fourth time, and at the end of each time he asked the same question. Always the same reply came, "I am not afraid of you."

Long Claws was in the habit of frightening everything, so that he expected every creature to be afraid of him. Of course he thought Skunk would be afraid of him, but when he saw Skunk was not afraid, he looked at Skunk for a while and said, "Skunk, you are a brave fellow!"

Skunk replied by saying, "It is my turn now to see if I can frighten you. Long Claws, you sit as quietly as I did while I walk around you four times."

Long Claws had made himself very tired shaking his paws and roaring over Skunk's head, and when he heard what Skunk said he laughed so that it made him all the more tired. Long Claws could not understand why Skunk should say such foolish words to see if he could frighten him. "All right, go ahead," said Long Claws as he lay on his side resting his head on one of his paws.

"Remember," said Skunk, "I am going around you four times. The fourth time I go around you, I shall kill you."

"All right, go ahead," replied Long Claws.

At the end of the first time Skunk went around he stopped and asked Long Claws, "Are you afraid of me?" "No, I am not afraid of you," replied Long Claws lazily.

Skunk went around three times and asked the same question each time, and after each question came the same answer, "No I am not afraid of you." Skunk did not make any noise while he was walking around Long Claws. He walked around very quietly, and looked for a good place to shoot Long Claws. When Skunk had gone around the fourth time he asked the same question, and as soon as Long Claws had given the same reply he had given to the other three questions, Skunk turned his back upon Long Claws' sleeping face and shot his bad smell into the eyes of Long Claws.

Long Claws jumped up at once and there was a big fight. He tried to reach for Skunk but could not see where he was, while Skunk was filling Long Claws' eyes fuller and fuller of that bad smell. Long Claws had a chance to run up a tree and get away from Skunk, but he was not a coward so he stood and fought, although he could not see. At last Long Claws fell dead, worn out by the shots from Skunk and the weight of his own heavy body.

Then Skunk was very happy. He sat a while upon the dead body of Long Claws until along came another Skunk who saw what his friend had done. Both at once went to work to skin Long Claws. Then they cut off his claws and made themselves each a necklace. Both went to Skunk's home and told all the other Skunks about the big fight. Everywhere they went they wore those necklaces.

One day the people saw Skunk wearing this big necklace. So from that time on, they took to wearing this kind of necklace. When they could not get any claws from Long Claws they used the claws of the bear.

5. RACCOON PLAYS A TRICK UPON THE PEOPLE HE VISITS

One time Raccoon went on a journey to see the different countries of the world and the people that lived in them. One evening he arrived in a village of a very strange people, that is, they seemed

strange because as he passed along the road everybody stood staring at him. The men left whatever they were doing to stare at him, and the women held their mouths wide open. Children ran before him and behind him. This made Raccoon feel very uncomfortable, and he did not know what to make of himself. He had never thought he was such a curious creature as to bring forth so much curiosity. Raccoon wished to get out of this as soon as he could, and so walked up to a group of men and said to them, "How do you do, my friends, where does your chief live? I come from another country, and I am one of the leading men of my people, so if I could see your chief and talk with him, my chief would be very much pleased. Besides, too, you see I am a traveler and I want something to eat and a place to rest."

The men motioned to Raccoon to follow them, which he did. Oh, but the people did crowd around Raccoon as he followed after the men leading him to the chief's lodge! The chief came out from his lodge to see what all this commotion of the people meant. He had not gone far when he met the men who were leading Raccoon, and they told him who the stranger was.

"Get away! Let him pass by!" shouted the chief to the crowds as he went forward to meet Raccoon.

You must have seen Raccoon smile when he is happy and feeling good. Well, that was the way he smiled when he and the chief shook hands. The chief took Raccoon with him to his wigwam. When they got in, they sat down together on a mat. The chief's wife put food before Raccoon, which he ate heartily. When he was done eating the chief filled a pipe, lighted it, and gave it to Raccoon to smoke. Then Raccoon began to talk.

"I am my chief's head councilor," he began. "He sent me to travel among the nations of the world, and see the different kinds of people. My chief wants me to see all the chiefs and their councilmen. He will be pleased when he hears that I have seen you. Now I wish to know if I may see your councilmen so I may talk with them. If possible, I should like to see them tomorrow, because you know I have a long journey and I must be on my way if I am to see all the countries and their people."

"Yes," replied the chief with a nod. "You may see my councilmen, but I can't call them together tomorrow. I can send the runners tomorrow to tell the councilmen to meet, and 4 days from that time they will come together. That is our custom."

"All right," said Raccoon, "I will wait 4 days. I have one more word to say, and that is, in my country the councilmen assemble with no clothing on them but their breechclouts and moccasins. But they paint themselves in their favorite colors and have fine eagle feathers in their hair. Now if your councilmen will come to the council

dressed in that way, I should be very glad to see them, so I can compare them with our councilmen, and see if your men are as handsome as ours. Tell them to leave their blankets at home, too."

"I will do everything you asked," replied the chief. "You can live here in my lodge, visit the people in my village, and come and go whenever you wish."

"All right," said Raccoon, nodding and smiling at the same time.

The chief was pleased to have Raccoon ask him what he did, because he felt that there were no finer looking men anywhere than were his councilors.

In the meanwhile Raccoon went from lodge to lodge and saw the people as they lived, but the people were curious to know why he spent the greater part of his time in the woods. They could not understand what this great traveler and councilman could be doing there all alone.

The fourth day came and the councilmen assembled in a large round wigwam, exactly like one of our flag-reed lodges. The chief and the councilors sat in a circle in the lodge and waited for the arrival of Raccoon. When they began to think he was not going to come, the chief went out to look for him, thinking perhaps he was over in his lodge and did not know the council had met. On his way over to his lodge the chief met Raccoon coming out of the woods, and at once told him that the councilmen were assembled and were waiting for him.

Raccoon knew all the while that the council had met and waited in the woods, knowing that they would grow impatient over his delay and that the chief would surely come out to look for him. And it pleased Raccoon to feel that it turned out as he wished. Now he would have a chance to speak to the chief all alone with no one around to hear what he said. Raccoon began in a whisper, "I have some very important things to tell you and your council. I do not want these people standing around the council lodge to hear what I say. So don't you think it would be a good thing to close the entranceway when we have entered and also the opening in the top of the lodge?"

"Yes," replied the chief. "I think it would be a good thing to close those openings." Then the two walked in and seated themselves side by side in a circle.

The chief did not ask why Raccoon had come into the council lodge with his blanket about him when he had asked that the councilors should leave theirs at home. The chief and some of the councilmen noticed that there was something under Raccoon's blanket which he took care to conceal, but they said nothing to Raccoon about these things.

The councilmen were rising in turn to make a short speech and then to shake Raccoon by the hand as a sign that they welcomed him.

All the while the men smoking were filling the lodge full of tobacco smoke. The men continued smoking and there was no opening for the smoke to go out. By and by the clouds of smoke became so thick that even men who sat next to each other could no longer see each other.

Then Raccoon quietly loosened the folds of his blanket and let out slowly the bees from a hive which he had hidden in the blanket. He could hardly restrain from laughing right out loud when he began to hear the men slapping themselves on their naked bodies. Then turning the whole hive loose, he slipped out of the lodge. Then he closed it more securely than ever and hurried away. He left the men slapping themselves and it was not until Raccoon had gone far away that they could stand it no longer. They broke out of the lodge, but Raccoon was not there with them. The chief and the councilmen now knew why it was that Raccoon was so anxious to have them leave their blankets at home and close the lodge up tight.

When Raccoon had come to a hiding place to rest he had a very good laugh all to himself. This is how Raccoon once fooled a chief and his councilmen.

6. HOW BEAR CAUSED RABBIT TO LOSE HIS TAIL

One evening when the sun was going down Bear walked among the briars and bushes looking for food, and as he walked along he mumbled to himself, "It will not be long before it will be night forever." Then he would grunt four times and say again, "It will not be long before it will be night forever."

At the same time when Bear went out to look for food, Rabbit came out of his dwelling on the hillside. After stretching himself he sat up and looked all around to see which way he had better go to find food. He noticed down there under the hill the tops of the bushes swaying to and fro. Presently he heard a low deep voice down there, and in a little while Bear appeared where he could see him. Rabbit laughed to himself and said, "If there isn't that clumsy old creature hunting food too! Before I go to look for mine I will go down there and have some fun with him by making him angry. He will try to grab me as usual, and all I will have to do is to jump to one side very quickly and easily, and I will then be out of his reach."

Then first to the right, and then to the left sprang Rabbit as he went down the hill, at the same time piping out at the top of his screeching voice, "It will not be long before it will be daylight forever!"

Bear hushed and stopped when he heard and saw Rabbit. Bear watched him very closely as he came jumping down the hill. Rabbit was pretending he did not know that Bear was anywhere around, so that when Bear called to him, "Hello, Rabbit!" Rabbit stopped very

quickly and looked at Bear as if he had just seen him, and exclaimed, "Why, hello Bear! I didn't know you were here!"

"I don't like what you are saying, Rabbit," said Bear again.

"You don't like what I am saying?" asked Rabbit.

"No," replied Bear, "because you always lie. You knew very well that I was here, or you would not be saying what you have just said. I speak the truth when I say that it will soon be night forever because Sun is going to be angry with this world and burn everything up in it, so that whenever anyone wishes to look for food he will have to go in the night when it will be cool and pleasant."

"Oh, Bear, but you can lie!" piped Rabbit. "I never heard anyone lie like that before. Now listen to me. I will tell you the truth. You say it is going to be night forever because you want it that way. That is the time when you like to prowl around when no one is likely to see you, and then frighten everybody. Now you know yourself that this is the best time of day, just when Sun is going down. It is very pretty then. It is cool and everyone can see where he is going. That is the way I want to see it, and that is why I say it is going to be daylight forever."

Bear looked very serious and really did mean all he said. He thought very hard over the affairs of this world. On the other hand Rabbit did not mean a single word he said. All he wished was to anger Bear.

"I will make a bet with you, Rabbit," growled Bear. "We will say our prophecies together. The one who says his the longer without a break or mistake will be telling the truth." "All right," said Rabbit. "You begin first, and then I will begin."

Bear began his prophecy slowly and earnestly, and said each word very carefully. Rabbit began his by yelling at the top of his voice, and as fast as he could. Then Rabbit began saying his prophecy every which way so as to confuse Bear. Then he tried jumping up and down and rolling about on the grass, until at last he succeeded in confusing Bear. This pleased him so much that he fell over on his back and laughed so that he closed his eyes.

Then Bear sidled very quietly over and grabbed for Rabbit. Before Rabbit could pull himself together in time to leap away Bear had hold of his long beautiful tail. Bear was so angry that he did not know what he was doing. He swung Rabbit round and round his head until the tail pulled out, and away went Rabbit turning over in the air, until he fell in the thicket.

"You will mock me and make sport of me, will you?" growled Bear, as he pitched the tail in another direction. "See that long-eared creature peeping out of the bushes? Look at him cry! Why don't you screech and jump around now?"

Rabbit blubbered out a number of ugly names at Bear. Bear walked over to him and slapped him as hard as he could in the face. Then he raked his claws down Rabbit's face, and one of these claws dug a gash over Rabbit's mouth. Then Bear said to him, "Now shut your mouth, Rabbit! Don't you live anywhere but in that thicket! And don't make fun of me or call me any more ugly names!"

That is how Rabbit lost his beautiful tail, and that is how he got that mark running over his mouth. Rabbit used to be a beautiful creature when he had his long pretty tail.

7. THE FIGHT BETWEEN BULLHEAD AND ELK

Little Bullhead one time became very hungry. He happened to know of a place where Elk was accustomed to go for water. It was a very shallow place, and very stony. Thither ran Bullhead. When he got to this place he was very happy to find that Elk was feeding among the trees and bushes not very far from the bank. Bullhead could not see Elk, but he saw the branches and bushes shake to and fro. Once in a while he could see the end of Elk's nose and parts of his horn.

Bullhead sat up out of the water on a stone with his back resting against another stone. His breast looked very white with the sun shining upon it. Then with a mocking smile on his face as he looked over where Elk was feeding, Bullhead began to sing a song with these words:

Oh those worthless horns which Elk carries about on his head!
Oh those worthless horns which Elk carries about on his head!
How much better than these horns are those of Bullhead!
How much better than these horns are those of Bullhead!

Bullhead sang this song over and over again in a low voice, but just loud enough so that Elk could hear it. And Elk did hear it. At first he paid no attention to it, because it sounded like a song which anyone would sing for pleasure. By and by he began to hear something about horns and then about Elk, and then about Elk's horns. Elk stopped feeding for a moment to listen to the song. He heard it through once, then walked straight to the place where the sound came from.

Bullhead saw him coming, but kept right on singing as if there were no Elks anywhere near. Bullhead continued to sing even until Elk came to the edge of the water, when Elk yelled to him at the top of his voice so as to frighten him, "Stop your singing, Bullhead! Stop your singing, Bullhead!"

Bullhead stopped, and he and Elk looked at each other for a little while. Then Elk stepped into the water as if he was going to walk over to Bullhead, but stopped when he saw that Bullhead did not move.

"You little fish," began Elk, "what do you think you are? I don't think I should brag about my horns if I were a creature who could not go anywhere but in the water! Look at my horns! They are like the branches of those trees you see yonder! And where are those horns you boast of? I myself can't see them. Now, Bullhead, don't you make fun of my horns again by singing that song! If you do I will kick you clear out of this water!"

Bullhead smiled at Elk all the time he was talking. And when Elk had finished Bullhead sat up straighter against the little stone and showed his white breast more boldly to Elk. Then he winked at the Elk so as to make him all the more angry. Seeing that Elk would not do anything more, to urge on a fight Bullhead then began, "You don't have to tell me how big you are and what large horns you have. I am going to sing as much as I wish, and you can't stop me. You just kick me and then see what I will do. You will get hurt, even though I am smaller than you."

No sooner had Bullhead done speaking when Elk wheeled about and began to kick at Bullhead. Bullhead was so nimble and quick that it was easy for him to keep away from Elk's heels. He sang his song all the more, and laughed at Elk because he could not kick him out of the water. Elk became so angry that he tired himself all out trying to kick Bullhead. Elk began to be weaker and weaker until he hardly had strength to kick even a little.

Then Bullhead dove head first at Elk's kicking legs and stuck his little horns into them so deep and quickly that Elk fell on his haunches. Bullhead did the same thing with his forelegs. Down fell Elk into the water, and Bullhead pricked him everywhere he could until he killed him.

Then Bullhead called all the other Bullheads that lived in the river to feast with him on Elk. And they all sang:

Oh those worthless horns which Elk carries about on his head!
Oh those worthless horns which Elk carries about on his head!
How much better than these horns are those of Bullhead!
How much better than these horns are those of Bullhead!

8 HOW MOUSE SLEW DEER

Mouse is a very bad little creature. One day when he was down by the river he saw Deer feeding not far away from him. "I am hungry for deer meat," he said to himself. "I will pretend I wish to get across the river. Deer will help me across, and then I will kill him."

So Mouse went and sat on the bank. He looked longingly over to the other side of the river, and he seemed very sad. Then he began a plaintive song with these words:

Oh, I wish I could get across this river!
Oh, I wish I could get across this river!

In the meanwhile Deer had gone down to the water to drink, and hearing a sad little voice on the bank, went up there to see who it was in trouble. He found Mouse looking as sad as he could be. "Don't cry, my little friend," said Deer, comforting him, "I will carry you across."

Deer then got down on his haunches. Mouse crawled into Deer's anus instead of climbing upon his back. Deer thought, of course, that he would come out as soon as he got across the river. When they got over there, Mouse refused to come out, but crawled farther into Deer, until he came to the heart and began gnawing upon it. Deer could do nothing, so he fell down and died.

Then Mouse came out and invited all the other mice to come and feast with him. While the mice were very happy, along came Wolf, and they all ran away. Wolf at this time happened to be very hungry, so he sat down there and ate and ate until he could eat no more.

Mouse in the meanwhile had gone to the home of his friend Owl and complained to him that Wolf had driven him away from a deer which he had killed, and took all of his meat from him. Owl liked his friend Mouse very much, and so he flew away from his hole in the tree and hunted for a long time in the forest for Wolf until he found him. Wolf was lying on the flat of his back, stuffed as full as he could be, and sound asleep. He was resting his head on one of Deer's hams, and the other ham he hugged, holding the meaty end tightly to his mouth. Owl flew quietly down beside Wolf, pulled the ham out from his mouth and paws, and put in its place a large stick the size of the ham. Then Owl flew away with the two hams to his home where Mouse was awaiting him.

When Wolf awoke he was too sleepy to open his eyes very wide. Thinking it was the ham he had yet in his mouth, he bit on it, but found it very hard chewing. Biting it as hard as he could, it hurt his jaws and teeth. He opened his eyes and found himself hugging a hard stick. He got up to look around to see who could have played this trick, but found no tracks or signs of anyone. He concluded it must have been Owl because he knew Owl and Mouse were very close friends.

So Wolf started off to the place where Owl lived, hoping to get his two deer hams back. He stopped at the foot of the tree and called out, "Hello, Owl, hello!" No reply came. Again Wolf called, "Hello, Owl, my friend!" Mouse came to the hole and said, "Why hello, Wolf, won't you come up?"

Wolf did not like to be talked to that way. Mouse knew perfectly well he could not go up that tree. Mouse then called Owl to come out to the hole and see Wolf. Owl came and put his head beside

Mouse's head, and both sat together looking for a long time at Wolf without saying a word to him. At last Owl asked with a low heavy voice, "Hello, Wolf, what do you want?"

"Someone stole my deer hams, and I have come thinking you might know what became of them," replied Wolf.

Owl did not answer him, but Mouse shouted down at Wolf with his little voice, "Those were not your deer hams, but mine. I killed that deer myself, and you came and took it away from me."

Wolf did not answer. He sat there looking up at Owl and Mouse. Then he began to beg for food. Owl did not say anything, but presently he pulled the deer ham out of the hole so Wolf could see it. This made Wolf very anxious to eat. He begged and begged for meat. At last Owl began throwing down pieces of bark that looked like meat, and Owl and Mouse had fun watching Wolf jump around for them.

Thinking they had teased Wolf enough, Owl and Mouse threw some meat down to him that was spoiled and smelled badly, and then withdrew into the hole. Wolf did not like it, nor could he eat it. He sat out there all alone, looking up at the hole, thinking Owl might give him something to eat. Seeing that they were paying no more attention to him, he went away very angry to his home.

By and by Mouse peeped out of the hole, saw that Wolf was gone, and so came down the tree and hurried to his home.

9. THE ANIMALS' QUARREL

A man was once passing along through a wood, when he heard a noise off to one side in the brush. He stopped and listened, and found that a quarrel was going on about something. He went over there and found a tarantula, an eagle, a panther, and one other standing about a slain deer.

They were quarreling over the division of the deer. One wanted this part, another wanted that, and they had not yet come to an agreement when the man appeared in their midst.

Then they suddenly fell into silence. Presently the man put questions to them. "Tarantula, did you kill it?" "No." "Eagle, did you kill it?" "No." "Panther, did you kill it?" "No." "And you, did you kill it?" "No."

He found on further questioning that they had found the deer already dead, but he did not learn who had found it first. Then he upbraided them for their quarreling. At the same time he began to cut up the deer in four equal shares. The way he did was to split the deer in half from the head to the tail, then each half was cut in two again. He gave a part to each of the four, and they went their several ways feeling kindly toward one another and to the man who had settled their dispute.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

These notes make no claim to being exhaustive. The few myths and tales presented here would not justify exhaustive searching. With the exception of the version of the Little Startlers, these tales are not among the best known Algonquian lore, and the Little Startlers itself is not commonly known among the Foxes. Presumably these tales were available when Jones made his selection for his Fox Texts. Why they were not included we do not know—perhaps just lack of space, or perhaps because they were felt to be less typical.

1. *Wīsa'kä frightens the Quails.*—As has already been said, Michelson tried repeatedly to obtain this story among the Foxes, but failed, and is therefore inclined to put it down as individual and not tribal knowledge. The tale has a very wide distribution. *Algonquin* (Speck, pp. 12–14); *Assiniboine* (Lowie, p. 110); *Cree* (Bloomfield, Davidson, Michelson, Russell; see Welpley for analysis); *Kickapoo* (Michelson); *Menomini* (Bloomfield, 1928, pp. 215, 231; Skinner and Satterlee, p. 298); *Ojibwa* (Jones-Michelson, I, pp. 41–43, 187–191, 415; Radin, p. 7; Speck, pp. 32–33); *Sauk* (Skinner 1928, pp. 149–150).

2. *How Skunk lost most of his strength.*—No exact parallel to this tale was found. The episode of wasting power given by the skunk occurs fairly frequently, alone, or as part of a "Bungling Host" cycle. See *Assiniboine* (Lowie, p. 128); *Menomini* (Bloomfield 1928, pp. 193–197; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 286–288, 288–289); *Ojibwa* (Speck, pp. 43–44; Jones-Michelson, 1917, I, p. 321). There is another *Assiniboine* tale which differs in detail, but accounts for the small size of the present-day skunk (Lowie, p. 204).

3. *How Turtle lost his place among the great manitous.*—This is another version of a published Fox story, included here because it has the "complete ending" referred to by Jones on page 314 of his Fox Texts. For similar tales see *Assiniboine* (Lowie, p. 125); *Iowa* (Skinner, 1925, p. 490); *Kickapoo* (Jones-Michelson, 1915, p. 23); *Menomini* (Bloomfield, 1928, pp. 159–173, 179–183; Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 263–266, 303).

4. *The fight between Long Claws and Skunk.*—The *Kutenai* have two tales about a fight between a skunk and a panther. In the first the panther won, in the second the skunk. These versions differ from the Fox in that the panther was in a tree and the skunk was shooting at his reflection. A third Kutenai version, containing the reflection element, is about a fight between a fox and a skunk (Boas, pp. 23–25, 41). There is an *Arapaho* story about a dispute between a bear and a skunk, won by the skunk (Dorsey and Kroeber, p. 228).

5. *Raccoon plays a trick upon the people he visits.*—Many tales are told of the tricks played by Raccoon, but none was found resembling this one.

6. *How Bear caused Rabbit to lose his tail.*—See *Cree* (Russell, p. 217); and *Menomini* (Bloomfield, 1928, pp. 315–317, 335; Hoffman, p. 200; Skinner and Satterlee, p. 408).

7. *The fight between Bullhead and Elk.*—A similar tale has been found among the *Cree* (Russell) and *Menomini* (Skinner and Satterlee, pp. 412, 413). For another published *Fox* version see Steward, p. 57.

8. *How Mouse slew Deer.*—The closest parallels to this story are *Kutenai* (Boas, p. 21) and *Pawnee* (Dorsey, p. 453) versions, in which a chickadee kills an elk and a turtle kills a buffalo, respectively, after being carried across a river. For the method of killing see also *Cree* (Skinner, 1916, and Michelson, unpublished) and *Assiniboine* (Lowie, p. 128).

9. *The animals' quarrel.*—This is undoubtedly a European tale. Note the anonymous "one other" resorted to, to make the number of animals equal the Fox sacred number, four. This tale has also been found among the *Kickapoo* (Jones-Michelson, 1915, p. 45—part of a long garbled tale); and the *Ojibwa* (Radin, p. 72).

References Used for Comparative Purposes

[Abbreviations follow the usage of the American Anthropologist]

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2. L. Bloomfield. Menomini Texts. AES–P 12; 1928.
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4. D. S. Davidson. Some Tete-de-Boule Tales. JAFL 41: 262–274; 1928.
5. G. A. Dorsey. The Pawnee. Part I, Pawnee Mythology. CI, 1906.
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7. W. J. Hoffman. The Menomini Indians. BAE–R 14, Part 1.
8. W. Jones. Fox Texts. AES–P 1; 1907.
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14. P. Radin and A. B. Reagan. Ojibwa Myths and Tales, JAFL 41: 51–146; 1928.
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16. A. B. Skinner. Plains Cree Tales, JAFL 29: 341–367; 1916.
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DAILY LIFE

EVERYDAY LIFE [58]

Sleeping.—During winter the whole family sleeps in the flag-reed wigwam. This has one room. During the warmer months the family sleeps in the bark house, and this, too, has but one room.[59] These have raised platforms over which are booths which are often used to sleep on. In these bark houses the women and children sleep on one side and the men on the other. This is the general rule. Large boys whose ages are from 8 to 12 years usually go with the men. During the normal everyday life, the time for retiring is early, usually earlier than 8 and very seldom later than 10 in the evening. As a rule most are asleep by 9. Children go to bed at dusk or just as soon as they can no longer see to play. Older boys and girls do not retire until the older folk have gone; some stay up until 10 or later. The men, as a rule, are the last to retire.

The first to rise are the old women, and then come the younger women. The old men rise earlier than the younger men. Children,

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[58] In the late nineteenth century. For good supplementary accounts see the following: A. B. Busby, Two Summers Among the Musquakies, Annals of Iowa, 19, pp. 116–125, 1933; T. Michelson, Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.; H. Rebok, The Last of the Musquakies; and the Reports of the Comm. Ind. Affairs, especially 1896, pp. 158–163; 1897, pp. 149–150; 1898, pp. 160–173.

[59] Atwater described a Fox house of white elm bark which he saw in 1829 (Indians of the Northwest, Columbus, 1850). This house was 40 feet long by 20 feet wide. Platforms, raised 4 feet, and resting on poles, served as beds. Bark was laid on the poles, and the bark covered with blankets and skins. Six feet on each of the sides was taken up with the beds. Between the beds was an open space, 6 to 8 feet wide, running the length of the wigwam. Here fires were kindled, and the family warmed themselves in cold and wet weather; and here the cooking and eating was done (p. 70). Rebok says that Atwater's description would in 1897 still be an accurate picture of a summer wigwam in Tama, except that for skins should be substituted blankets and mats of their own weaving, and in some instances boards for poles and bark (Comm. Ind. Aff., Rept. for 1897, p. 149). For a photograph of an elm bark house see T. Michelson, Smith. Misc. Colls., 77, No. 2, 1924, p. 136.

Rebok has given a good description of the winter lodge (Rept. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1897). These were oval, 10 to 20 feet long, 8 to 10 feet high in center, and covered with matting woven from rushes. The houses were too small to have platforms, and the Indian ate, slept, and lived on the ground, upon which mats had been spread. The household belongings were placed about the sides of the lodge. A photograph of this winter dwelling is to be found opposite page 39 of Rebok's Last of the Musquakies.

Many additional references could be given on Fox dwellings. The more important are: A. Busby, Two Summers among the Musquakies, p. 95; T. Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 227–228; A. Fulton, Red Men of Iowa, p. 442; Rebok, Reports, Comm. Ind. Aff., 1896, p. 162; 1897, p. 148; 1898, p. 171.

and the older boys and girls, take their time in rising. Rising is as early as 4 in the morning; many rise at 6, and most of the rest at 7, very few rising later.

There is nothing that corresponds to a bed and mattress. On the hard and level platforms are spread two or three blankets or quilts. A small pillow or a folded blanket is used to rest the head on. The covering is usually a blanket which the person rolls up in, covering up the whole body, head and foot; impure air is the result. All go to bed in the dark. The women are more modest, so the men act accordingly to them. The women generally sleep within a kind of mosquito netting. This hangs from four corners, each of which is suspended from the roof of the summer bark house; it is over the raised platform and makes a convenient room of 5 by 5 feet. Under this the women dress and undress; as many as four can get into one; four children can easily get into one. A blanket or shawl often is put up to serve as means of shutting off all view. Men dress and undress under the blanket when there is any dressing that requires seclusion. Putting on a shirt or a pair of leggins needs no privacy. There is, however, a propriety shown in dressing and undressing. No one is supposed to look unless circumstances are such that it cannot be helped. This rule, like many of its kind, is not kept rigidly by the younger people.

Food.[60]—Corn (red, white, blue, and yellow), beans (bush and pole), pumpkins, squash, lily root, lily seed, potatoes, acorns (post oak), honey, maple sugar, milkweed, and various kinds of berries, fruits, and nuts.

Meals.—The women rise first in the morning, make the fire and cook the breakfast, and then they wake the men to eat. The time of rising varies, but it is usually between the hours of 5 and 6, and breakfast follows soon after.

Coffee, tea, water, bacon, boiled corn or potatoes, and fried bread or a kind of baked bread constitute the breakfast. This is always a light meal, and very little time is taken to prepare it.

The midday meal comes at any time between 11 and 2, and is very much like the breakfast.

The last meal of the day comes about 7 or 8 in the evening, and is the meal of the day. The same things are eaten as at breakfast, with additions. This meal usually lasts longer than any other.

[60] Forsyth remarks (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 228–230) that while there are few animals a hungry Indian will not eat, preference is given to venison or bear. He also says that the Foxes used little wild rice except when they got it from the Winnebagoes or Menominis. They ate fish only from necessity. They liked their meat well done, and made most things into soup. Corn they always had to have, and they also liked beans, pumpkins, ducks, and turkeys, sometimes using wild potatoes, etc.

Meals are served either on the ground or on the raised platforms of the bark houses. No chairs are used. The men sit cross-legged, and the women sit either with their legs under them or stretched out to one side.

No knives or forks are used by the separate individuals, but each one may have a spoon to be used separately.[61] One or two forks are used in common. A mat or cloth is spread out, and on it are put the eatables. Everything is put in a convenient place for all to reach. When you can't reach anything, and the only way possible for you to get it is by getting up, then you can point to what you want, and it will be passed to you. Each one uses a big spoon, and with this very useful agent you dip out what you want from the supply before you; you use it to eat with when you find you can't make your hands do the work better. One may eat out of one plate, but for two and three to eat out of the same plate is just as common. You can save time by simply eating out of the bowl or dish containing the supply for all. There is no ceremony whatever. The thing you want is to be natural and fall into a comfortable attitude. Conversation is just as free on one subject as another. There is no distinction made between what is vulgar and what is not during mealtime. All goes the same. If the vulgar enlivens the meal, then that is kept up. A man may come up and eat, and at the same time pull off his moccasins without in the least bothering anyone in his or her meal. If a man's foot is sore he can show that sore to all before him, and the eating goes on just the same.

When a family is eating, men, women, and children eat together; but when there are more men, the men eat first. A man is supposed to take his place first at the meal. You can do as you please about washing your hands and face before eating. It is always more convenient and it saves time to wash after mealtime.

Cooking.—The fireplace, or what may be called the hearth, is made in the center of the summer bark house and in the center of the winter flag-reed wigwam. The smoke goes up and out through an opening in the top. Chains hang from cross-poles over the fireplace. From these chains hang the kettles and pots on hooks. Baking and frying is done on hot coals or slow-burning wood.

The woman, before proceeding to cook, first arranges all her cooking material down by the fireplace where it can be reached handily. Her lard, salt, pepper, meat, flour, water, and whatever else she has are all by her. There she sits until her cooking is done; then she gets up and spreads her cloth to put the food on to be eaten.

A hand-made wooden bowl turned upside down is used to roll the

[61] Forsyth says (1826) that everyone has his own wooden dish and spoon (loc. cit., p. 230).

bread on. The more usual kind of bread is fried in pieces about 8 inches in diameter and half an inch thick. When well done this bread is very delicious. Another kind of bread of the same shape is put into a pan and slowly baked until it is hard enough to hold together when a stick is run through it, and held up before hot live coals. This is the rarest kind of bread made, and it is the best and most healthful made by them. It has no grease in it and so is not used very much.

Fresh meat is usually boiled because of the soup, as it is not only a cheap and easy way of cooking it, but it is liked best that way, and there is more bulk. The prevailing idea seems to be that to have a large amount to eat is more important than to have that which is most healthful. Fresh meat when not used at once is hung out on a pole or a limb of a tree; in time blowflies often make a mark, but the meat is thoroughly cleansed before cooking. Bacon is highly relished, not only for its meat but also for the grease. The same idea in regard to soup holds for grease: quantity rather than quality is the idea.

Boiled sweet corn is the most nourishing and healthful food used. Boiled beans and corn are used a great deal. Often beans are boiled with a poorly made dumpling. Onions are almost always cooked in grease with stewed potatoes. "Only white men eat raw onions." The amount of grease used to fry these onions would very naturally drive almost anyone to raw onions.

Strong tea and coffee are made; the stronger the better it seems to be liked. When both are to be had, both are made.

There is a marked cleanliness shown in cooking, while it is lacking at the mealtime. There is an attempt to clean everything used to cook with, and the things cooked. The cooking seems to be far better among those women who know least, or have least knowledge of civilized methods of cooking. The reason they excel is probably due to the circumstances that follow their mode of cooking. These women fit into this kind of cooking because they are not hampered by thoughts of better ways of cooking. They know how to cook a few things, and they cook these things well. The poorer cooks are found more among those who have had experience with better ways. They try to vary and change the same everyday diet. Some succeed, while others fail simply because their means of cooking better are very much limited. A good cook is hard to find. Many men are found who can cook as well as most women, and some who can cook as well as the best women cooks. Circumstances and lack of means seem to be the reason why better and more varied cooking is not more often found.

Age.—There were several who claimed to be 60 and 70 years old. One old woman was said to be between 105 and 110. Her eyesight was failing.

COSTUME [62]

Dress of the men and boys.—On account of the cheapness of the white man's clothing, and the scarcity of buckskin for leggins and moccasins, most of the Indians dress in a half-civilized garb; but they make their clothes as nearly like the primitive dress as they can. When at home the older men discard as much clothing as they can do without, retaining only their breechcloth and blanket. The younger men go almost entirely in half-civilized garb. Their shirts are fixed off with ribbons and gay-colored trimmings, and are often neatly made; few if any of these have collars, and in place of attached cuffs are ruffled cuffs. All who can use moccasins. These are made either with strong sackcloth for uppers and soft strong leather for the soles, or else they are the old-time buckskin moccasins; these are more expensive because of the scarcity of buckskin. Instead of a coat a shawl is used. Beaded work is worn about the neck for ornaments.[63] Rings, wristlets, armlets, and earrings are made by them from German silver.

In warm weather small boys go in nothing but a long loose shirt that reaches down as far as or below their knees.

No one wears his hair very short unless it is the old men who wear the moconi [roached headdress], which is a tuft of hair left in the middle front part of the head while all the rest of the head is shorn closely to the scalp. These men are comparatively few. The rest, young men and boys, wear the hair fairly long with a diminutive "Chinese pigtail" hanging down the back, from which are suspended ornaments of German silver and beaded work.

Only a few use paint all the time. All use paint at a feast or any kind of dance in which they take part. Everyone who can carries a shawl or blanket. Some wear hats and others go bareheaded.

Dress of the women and girls.—The dress of the women is more uncivilized than that of the men, yet it is comfortable and healthful. The women go in a loose waist that buttons in front, and which has no collar. Usually two of these are worn. Their skirts, made of calico, hang from their bodies above the hips, and reach, with the older women above the ankles, and with the young women and girls below the

[62] For descriptions of Fox costumes see Annals of Iowa, 19, pp. 118–119, 1933; Busby, Two Summers, pp. 96, 97, 112, 113; Catlin, Manners, Customs, etc., II, pp. 23–24, 207–217; Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 235; Fulton, Red Men of Iowa, pp. 443, 445–446; Maximilian, Travels, 1843, pp. 102–106; Rebok, Repts. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1897, p. 149; Schoolcraft, Thirty Years, pp. 215–216.

For published sketches of Fox Indians see Catlin, loc. cit.; J. O. Lewis, The Aboriginal Portfolio; Maximilian, vol. of Ills. accompanying Travels; McKenney and Hall, Indian Tribes of North America.

[63] The gens cannot be told by these ornaments. Each gens has a mark which is used on the grave of the dead, but these symbols are sacred and it is not proper to use them on the clothes of the living. Annals of Iowa, 19, p. 120, 1933.

ankles. Two of these skirts are the fewest worn at any one time. All wear sackcloth or buckskin moccasins. All wear beads about their necks and have earrings, finger rings, and wristlets made of German silver. All go bareheaded, part their hair in the middle, and have the back part of their hair done up in a roll almost a foot long and an inch or two in diameter. This roll is ornamented with beaded work; at the other end are suspended also beaded hangings. The women wear short woollen leggins that reach as far as the knees. All prefer shawls to blankets and wear them if they can afford them. They ornament their shawls and waists with German-silver clasps. Women do not use as much paint as men, even during a dance or feast.

Dress of the children.—Babies are put onto the small ornamented boards when they are being nursed. Girls are more carefully dressed than boys. Before they are able to walk almost any kind of loose garment is put upon them, but after they can walk they are dressed much after the fashion of the older ones. In summer boys wear fewer garments than girls, or at least girls wear garments that protect their bodies more than those of the boys do. In summer all go bareheaded and barefooted.

SOCIAL OBSERVANCES

MARRIAGE

A man obtains a wife in various ways. One of them is this: He takes a liking to a certain woman. In an unobserved way he learns when she goes to the spring for water (or when she goes to fetch wood. He watches for her goings in and comings out through a peek hole in the lodge or from a good viewpoint.—W. J.), and he plans by happy coincidence to be there unexpectedly while she is dipping water into her pail. His one object is to speak perhaps only a word, and on the answer to that word depends the character of his future maneuvers. He may not so much even as speak, for only a glance of the eye will tell him all that he needs to know.[64] Whether he speaks or not and she but smiles, in either instance then he goes on his way glad of heart for he is perfectly sure what next to do.

In the night at the time of silence when all are asleep he steals into her lodge and finds the place where she lies (if she did not tell him where she sleeps he has found it out from those who know).[65] The fire burns low at this hour, often under smoldering coals, and he resorts frequently to a flash of light to be sure where she is. On

[64] If the girl looks steadily at her moccasins the lad has to consider himself dismissed; but if she runs away he knows that he is to follow.—T. Michelson.

[65] Fox women always sleep next to the wall. A youth instead of entering the lodge will sometimes call the girl out by thrusting a stick through a chink in that part of the wall beside which she sleeps.—T. Michelson.

finding her he lies beside her, he wrapped in his own blanket and she in hers. There they converse in low whisper. He does not tarry long, for she early bids him to depart with the familiar phrase of lovers, "nahē′, nāgwā′nu!" and it means, "Now you must be going!" He obeys, for in the phrase goes the assurance that she will give him an opportunity to come again, perhaps also to meet her during the day at the spring or somewhere thereabouts, and for a longer period.

It is all plain sailing for the man if he meets the approval of the other members of the family, above all if he stands well in the good esteem of the older women. An unconvinced mother and an overwatchful grandmother can be of the greatest annoyance. They have learned when lovers are wont to be abroad, and so about that hour they contrive to find that the fire needs looking to, for they know full well that no lover enters a lodge in the flare of a blaze. Seldom, very seldom, they go so far as to lie in wait for him to do him bodily harm. They find great relief and mirth, however, in the fact of having driven him off in a gale of unbecoming epithets.

If he is successful in his suit he goes to his mother and tells her of a woman he will bring some night with him to the lodge. Usually the sister is let into the secret with the mother. And if there should be no mother and no sister, then it would be the nearest feminine relative to know of the coming marriage. But who the woman is, when and whence she will come, he does not reveal in the secret. Sometimes the mother and sister happen to know and the chances are few when they are in doubt.

And so on a morning when the members of the family awake, they behold the man and woman lying together. The act of thus being seen together in the same bed makes them man and wife.

The husband's relatives set to work early in the day to clothe the young wife in new garments and to adorn her with beautiful ornaments. The husband fetches forth a pony, the best that he is able to own. He puts on it his own bridle and saddle, and after other gifts are loaded on the pony he lets his wife mount. Then she starts for the home of her own family. She can go alone, but usually a sister-in-law accompanies her.

At the arrival home her relatives relieve her of the presents and take them for their own. The pony and bridle and saddle all go to the brother, or to a near masculine relative if there is no brother.

In due time the wife is on her way back to the lodge of her husband. This time she rides the best pony that her brother owns, and she sits in his saddle, and the pony has on his bridle. All these things are in return a present for her husband. She has with her other presents, gifts from her family to that of her husband. Should the season be the ripening time of corn and of beans and of pumpkins, then these things become a part of the presents that she brings. Added to these

are mats and buckskins and clothing. All the presents are for her husband's family.[66]

Then later, when the husband comes in from his first successful hunt, the first to receive the game—the whole of it—is the family of his wife.[67] He remembers them on the return from other hunts, not necessarily on every one; it is only on the first occasion that he gives them all that he has killed.[68]

The wife in turn is of a generous feeling toward her husband's folk. As soon as it is lawful to eat of the newly ripened corn she prepares a delicious dish, a kind of bread with maple sugar sprinkled over it. This she sends to her husband's family for them to eat.

This woman that the man selects for his wife is from another clan. If the man has not a home of his own he can live now with his own family and now with his wife's.[69]

Men and women meet each other in another way. It is in a custom where music plays part, particularly the music of the flute. The man takes a position in the neighborhood of the woman's lodge, and proceeds to entice her out by means of his flute. The time is at night and the man's place is near enough for the woman to hear the notes of the song; the love song if it may be so called.

The burden of the song has one central theme. The theme may be expressed specifically in so many words, it may be partly expressed in words and partly suggested, and again, especially in the wordless songs, its obvious meaning follows as a matter of course. That theme is a cry, a longing for the gratification of physical desire.

What gives the custom its character is in such facts as these: It is highly probable that the woman knows who the player is, and it is equally certain that she knows perfectly well what the object of his desire is. And so when she goes to meet him it is likely to be with the full intent of yielding herself and body for a mutual physical pleasure.

It is not quite correct to say that the custom is unlawful, for men and women have married satisfactorily by courting in accordance

[66] This method of courtship, followed by an exchange of gifts, has been reported as typical by all writers on the Foxes, from Perrot, who refers to the last half of the seventeenth century, to the present day.

[67] Marston says (*in* Morse, Report to the Secretary of War, 1822) that Fox lads often served for their wives, hunting for the girl's parents until she had a child (p. 134).

[68] According to Perrot, this custom explains why Fox men who have more than one wife prefer sisters, saying they are more likely to agree, as wives who are not sisters quarrel about the presents of food made to each other's parents. (*In* Blair, Indian Tribes, I, p. 72.)

[69] Practically all writers agree that the couple could live with the parents of either, or alone, as they preferred. But Perrot reports (loc. cit., p. 70) that the couple lived with his mother until the marriage was consummated, then with her mother for 2 years, after which they returned to his mother.

with it. But the chances are that those men and women will prefer to have a daughter of theirs wooed by a man who comes to the lodge by night to see her, rather than by one who lures her out to him by the music of his flute. Ladykillers and harlots resort to the custom of the flute, and it is at night during the time of the social dances and gatherings that the custom runs rampant.

The flute is for convivial company also, and the time for its music is in the spring on occasions when young men go in groups to a social dance and gathering, playing on the flute and singing as they go.

It sometimes happens that a man has a tender feeling in his heart for a certain woman but he has not within him a way of winning her by actual wooing. If such a man is positive enough in his determination, it is quite likely that he will go to the woman's family and make a plain straightforward statement concerning the object of his desire. Should the parents and relatives look favorably on his request, they will set to work to persuade the woman, either in a friendly way or by intimidation, to become wife to the man.

When he has gained the woman he requites his helpers with a bountiful gift, the principal element of which is ponies. He takes his wife home in the same manner as if he had won her by courtship. His feminine relatives clothe her with new garments and adorn her with decorations. And he furnishes the best pony he has for her to ride back home and for a present to her brother. Then follows an exchange of presents like that when a man marries a woman after he has wooed and won her.

Again, a warrior can get a wife by gift. A father, for example, may feel that a great service has been done him by the warrior. The warrior may have rescued a son alive from the enemy; he may have defended the dead body of the son and prevented the enemy from taking the scalp; and then he may have given the son a warrior's burial, that of setting him upright on the prostrate form of a slain enemy. To requite such and other services a father will give an unmarried daughter to be the wife of a warrior.

A warrior who has been valiant in war, whose deeds are on the lips of his tribesmen, has the right and privilege to go to a family where there are several daughters and demand the one of his choice for his wife. He can take to himself a wife in this way, even though he already has one who is ever so faithful.[70] Marriage in either way is accompanied by the usual exchange of gifts.

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[70] This is the only mention of polygamy in Jones' notes, and the implication seems to be that it was exclusively a privilege of the warrior class. Allouez (Jes. Rel., 54, p. 219) reports that each man commonly had 4 wives, while some had 6 and others 10. But he does not account for the tremendous surplus of women over men which this would imply, and it seems likely that only a limited number of

Another kind of marriage, probably the most unusual of them all, is one that is sometimes contracted through the mutual understanding of two families.[71] One family may form a special interest in a young man of another, and so will endeavor to bring about a union between him and an unmarried daughter of theirs. Or it may be the other way around and one family may wish for a daughter-in-law a girl from another. Often there is a motive on the one hand or on the other and sometimes both play into the hands of each other. The motive may lie in the hope of social or political advancement, more likely of the former.

And then again, the family with the daughter may see a good hunter in the young man. They may see how he keeps his family supplied with food and with other goods. These things the family like, and feel that the young man will make the right kind of husband for the daughter. The other family may see bodily health and domestic industry and stability of character in the person of the girl, and so see the chance and the possible probability of a good wife for the son.

Where the feeling is mutual on the part of both families then every encouragement is given the young people to carry on their courtship absolutely uninterrupted and with a view to ending it in a marriage sure and certain. An abuse of the faith and good will of one is taken at once as an insult by the family that is wronged. Here is an incident illustrating the point.

There were two families. One had several daughters and stood high socially, and the other had a son and was specially known for its wealth in ponies. The family with the daughters thought it worth while to try and capture the young man for one of the girls. So far were they successful that in due time the other family became of the same mind in regard to one of the girls, the one already intended for the young man. And the marriage followed as an inevitable result.

In the interchange of presents the husband sent to the lodge of his wife's family a horse that was held to be the best in the nation. One

individuals had this plurality of wives. That the Foxes practiced the sororate is attested by Perrot, Marston, and Forsyth, and it is interesting that the explanation, no doubt a rationalization, given to all three (from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries) was that sisters were more likely to agree.

[71] According to Skinner (Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 31, 1923), Sauk marriages were generally arranged by the parents. References to arranged marriages can be found in Fox ritual myths. In the origin myth for the White Buffalo dance a chief arranges a marriage between his younger sister and a man whom he wants for a brother-in-law (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 185); and in the origin myth for the Singing Around Rite (ibid., p. 583) a woman approached the hero's mother in an attempt to arrange a marriage with her daughter; and the Fox woman whose autobiography we have (ibid., pp. 311–315) was not allowed to marry the youth of her choice, but married one selected for her by her parents.

day the young wife went to her father's lodge and never again returned to her husband. Now the tribal law holds when a man and woman cease as husband and wife that all presents revert to the original givers. The principal gift in the marriage contract is usually in the form of a pony, and it, or an equivalent, shall be returned when the marriage is dissolved.

The young woman and her family not only failed to give back the famous horse but they showed also no disposition or intention of ever returning the same. They went even further. While out on the plains hunting buffalo they chanced to pass Fort Riley where the horse fell into the admiration of an Army officer. The officer set a price and it was accepted, and so the horse came into the soldier's possession.

The point at issue was this. As long as the girl's family insisted on holding the horse just so long did the young man have the right of demanding that her family return him his wife. But he made no such demand and he did nothing to persuade the girl to return to him. His act of waiving the right of demand and desiring the girl no longer for wife put the girl's family, so long as they held the horse, in the position of thieves. And when they sold the horse they disposed of stolen property.

The young man could have taken the horse by force, killing the holders of it if necessary; and the tribe and clan would have sided with him in the attempt, for the sympathy of the tribe and clan was already with him. But there was a feeling within him which prevented him from resorting to violence. He had entered into the marriage with a feeling of confidence and trust that was shared by his family. That confidence and trust had been violated and the act pricked his pride. It would have been humiliating to betray even a sign that he wished his pony back, to say nothing of asking for it. And so he resorted to the severest punishment he could inflict, that of treating the girl and her family with the bitterest contempt, and having nothing whatever to do with them. And the punishment was taken up and emphasized by clan and tribe, and the family wilted beneath it into disgrace.

Divorce

Men and women separate for reasons of jealousy, bad temperament on the part of one or both, ill treatment, etc.

The woman takes all the property belonging to her.

The man sometimes leaves and is gone for a long time. His absence is often taken as a hint and the woman is left free to marry whom she will. Sometimes the two will agree to live together again, and so the man comes back to his wife.

If a woman is deserted by her husband within a period of 1 or 2 or 3 days after marriage she is placed in a pitiable position. Women

whisper one to another that she had relations with men before her marriage and so is not the virgin she had pretended to be, hence her desertion. Men then look upon her as of a free, yielding nature and on the way of becoming a woman of loose morals.

The shortest way out of such odium is for the woman to be taken back by the man who flung her away. A woman can live down the infamy, a thing which has often been done. It is a grueling experience, and it takes a woman of strong character to pull through. When she reaches a point in the ordeal, a point up to which it is believed she has kept herself unstained and her name is then spoken of in good repute, she is likely to be wooed again as a virgin and her chances for a satisfactory marriage are as good as the best.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Delivery.—The woman kneels with legs apart. She leans forward, held up by a rawhide strap that passes under her chest and is suspended from above.[72] She further supports herself by holding on with both hands to another strap suspended from above. The strap that passes under her chest is the kind that the women use in carrying wood. The flat part that goes over the forehead is the part that passes under her chest.

In her labor the woman is forbidden to cry, no matter how great

[72] Dr. Galland describes (Annals of Iowa, 7, pp. 359–360, 1869) a swing of this sort which he saw in use. Other details which he mentions are worth noting. In 1828 he was called to a very difficult case. Several doctors were in attendance. When he arrived they still had one more important operation to try. They got 3 or 4 feet of grapevine, one end of which was fashioned in the likeness of a snake's head. The patient lay on her back, and the operator, imitating the movements of a snake, slowly passed the artificial serpent over her abdomen, from the breast toward the feet. They said the foetus, on seeing the snake approaching in that direction, would endeavor to escape from its confinement in order to avoid the dangerous reptile. This is like the swift-lizard treatment known to the Menomini. Skinner reports that as a last resort the midwife sang the swift-lizard song, which gave the mother strength and frightened the child, and then administered the powdered flesh of the "swift" in a draught which caused the child to see what it thought was a snake coming, and made it fly out of her body into the world. This was a very dangerous remedy, as the child in its terror might tear its mother (Songs of the Menomini Medicine Ceremony, Amer. Anthrop., 27, pp. 307–308, 1925).

The Fox woman whose autobiography Dr. Michelson obtained was a less difficult case and received milder treatment. Her mother-in-law took Indian tobacco to a woman skilled in obstetrics. This woman made her sit up, spat on her head, and gave her medicine to drink. Then the woman danced around the outside of the little wickiup four times, singing. She knocked on the side where the girl was, saying first, "Come out if you are a boy," and the next time, "Come out if you are a girl," etc. Then she went in and gave her more medicine to drink, laid her down carefully, and held her knees straight up. The treatment was successful (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 319).

her pain is. If she cries she is ridiculed by the phrase "íni yā pe äci maí yō yö ni wäpé mö né negkíne!"

Post-natal restrictions.[73]—A woman gives birth to a child in a lodge set up for her away from the main dwelling. She stays in this lodge 10 days after the birth of her child.[74] All this while she is waited on by women. After the tenth day she goes to a water and bathes. She is then permitted to sleep in the main lodge, alone with her child. For 20 days more she must eat her food in the lodge away from the main dwelling. After the 30 days she goes back into the main lodge and dwells there as before.

During the birth of her child and all the while she is away from the main lodge she is waited on by other women. Men have nothing whatever to do with her.

Beliefs concerning conception and birth.—A harlot meets many men in coition. From each she may conceive a child, a very tiny thing. After a time there is a great number of the tiny foeti. Instead of being born they get all squashed up and are thrown from the body in this mixed-up mass. To conceive, become pregnant, and bear a child, a woman must lie with but one man.[75]

Menstrual Customs

When the period of a woman is at hand she leaves the lodge and goes to live in a small wigwam that she herself has made.[76] The time that she stays there is usually about 6 days, when she is then clean again.

During the 6 days she lives entirely alone, visited only now and then by women who bring her food and other necessaries. She cooks her own food, and the things that she cooks with, and the things from

[73] The Fox woman in her autobiography mentioned a large number of restrictions placed on her during her pregnancy (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 315–317). She was not to eat anything burned, so the afterbirth would not adhere; not to eat nuts, so the baby could break through the caul; not to warm her feet in winter, so the baby would not adhere to the caul; not to join her feet to her husband's, nor eat animals' feet, nor touch crawfish, so the baby would not be born feet foremost; not to touch a corpse, or the baby would die after it was born; not to stare at a dead person, or the baby would be cross-eyed; not to touch a crane, or the baby would always look upward; to cease intercourse, or the baby would be born filthy. On the other hand, if she carried wood on her back, the baby would be born easily.

Men were afraid of killing dogs for ceremonies, as if their wives were pregnant the child might be crippled (T. Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 4).

[74] In her autobiography the woman mentions living outside for 33 days. (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 321.)

[75] According to Fox belief a single coitus will not produce pregnancy (T. Michelson).

[76] Or that her mother made, if this is her first period (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 305).

which she eats, are left in the lodge when she gets ready to leave.[77] Sometimes and more often the cooking utensils and eating utensils are put in a sack and, if in winter, are hung to a tree. In summer they are kept in the little bark house which the woman erects for the period of her menses.

The dwelling in winter is made of grass and flag reed. It is small, as is also the small bark lodge used in summer. The dwelling is away from the lodge, and far away from the village.

During the period the woman does not visit the main lodge. She wears old clothes which she rolls away in a bundle when her time is up and leaves in a tree by the lodge or in the lodge itself. These clothes she uses again on another occasion. During all this time the woman is considered unclean. She can be visited by women and by girls, but not by men or boys. It sometimes happens that a young woman is visited by a young man wishing to woo her.[78] This is considered ill for the man, for it is believed he will become weak in body and will be unable to stand endurance.[79]

The woman must first bathe in a brook, or river, or pond, or lake before she returns to the main lodge. She must do this whether in summer or in winter. She must bathe even if she has to break open the ice to do it.[80]

A young woman who is having her menses for the first time must live out of the sight of men for 10 days. Her dwelling place is usually in a dense growth of bushes where she is likely to be hid from the view of anyone, and the place is likely one that is least frequented. The dwelling place must be far from the village. During this time the young woman has for companion some old woman.[81]

After 10 days she moves nearer to and in sight of the main lodge. She dwells here for 20 days, and then after she has taken her second bath—the first was after the 10 days—she is permitted to enter the main lodge.

[77] Marston says that not even the steel and flint for making fire are ever used elsewhere (*in* Morse, Rept. to the Secretary of War, pp. 136–137).

[78] The Fox woman whose autobiography we have was so visited (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 309). This is all the more interesting in that the custom was quite general among the Winnebago, where parents kept watch of the menstrual lodges, but only to keep out undesirable men (Radin, Thirty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 137–138).

[79] Marston reports (loc. cit., pp. 136–137) that no Indian ever approaches the lodge, and if a white man should try to light his pipe from the woman's fire she would refuse, saying it would "make his nose bleed, his head ache, and will make him sick."

[80] A Fox girl was congratulated by her mother on having her first menses in the summer, saying, "Had it happened to you in winter you would have had a hard time. You would be cold when you bathed, as you would have to jump into the water four times" (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 305).

[81] During this period the old woman gave the girl instructions concerning proper behavior (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 305, 307, 309).

Her food during the first 10 days is pounded corn made into hominy. The food after the first menses is usually about the same as that eaten in the main lodge. In the case of the young woman, her food after the first 10 days is about the same as that in the main lodge.

Beliefs connected with menstruation.[82]—If a woman kills a centipede, she will have an overflow at menstruation.

Mortuary Customs

Summary of Dr. Jones' published paper on Fox mortuary observances[83]

The Foxes had four methods of disposal of the bodies of the dead:

1. Tree or scaffold burial. (Not now practiced.)
2. Seated on the open ground, if possible on the body of a slain enemy, back supported, no covering. (Victorious war party's disposal of a slain comrade.)
3. Body seated, head peering out from ground, shed above. (Still practiced.)

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[82] Menstruating women are, of course, dangerous to others, but they have to take certain precautions to insure their own well-being. If a menstruating girl should touch her hair, it might all come off; if she should eat sweet things or sour things, her teeth would come out. At the time of her first menstruation her thighs were pecked and made to bleed, so that her menstruation should not be excessive (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 307). But most of her dangerous power is directed outward. A girl menstruating for the first time belongs in the same category with widows or widowers unreleased from death ceremonies and those who have had still-born children (ibid., pp. 489–491). Menstruating women, along with widows and widowers unreleased from death ceremonies, will cause crops to fail if they run through a garden; will kill a tree if they touch it; will cause a horse to die if they bridle or hitch it (ibid., p. 339). The manitous hate menstruation, so that if a man to whom a blessing had been given should eat with a menstruating woman, the blessing would be of no more use (ibid., p. 303; see also p. 12). Medicine must not be taken inside a menstruation lodge (ibid., p. 161). Menstruating women might "spoil" a youth in training for special blessings (ibid., p. 571) and be the ruin of a ceremonial runner if so much as seen by him (Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 15, 25).

Women in general were under various disabilities in the sacred feasts, but after they had passed their climacteric they were considered to be like men (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 231).

For a myth concerning the origin of menstruation, see W. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 289–295.

[83] We have considerable information on Fox mortuary customs. Dr. Michelson has published several important narratives and texts on the subject in the Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., and gives there (pp. 355–356) a bibliography of the most important earlier sources of information. The most outstanding of these was William Jones' Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa (Congres Inter. des Amer., XVI^{e} sess., 1906, vol. I, pp. 263–277). A summary of this is given here, to serve as background for the supplementary notes found among his unpublished papers, but the complete article should be consulted.

4. Coffin or matting burial underground. (Got from the whites, they say.)

In any case the feet are toward the west. The grave is dug the day of burial, in an east-west line.[84] Some graves are covered with rocks;[85] others have sheds over them. Corpses are not kept long. Burial takes place at noon, or between noon and sunset.

Relatives do not ordinarily bury their own dead, unless death occurs on a far-off hunt and they are forced to. Funeral arrangements are usually put in the hands of a chief attendant, who selects his own assistants. If the deceased was a woman, women attendants are chosen to dress the body, though men carry it to the grave. The corpse is usually dressed in festive garb, though if the person made a point of dressing simply, the grave clothes will also be simple.

Weapons are seldom buried with the dead, for fear of the soul's using them against the living.[86]

A formal farewell is said, and tobacco is sprinkled over the body by everyone present. Food and water are placed beside the body, which is then wrapped up. The coffin is closed and lowered. A shed is erected over the grave, and a stake is driven at the foot. Dogs are strangled and put in front of the stake, facing west. The dogs are to serve as guides, companions, and protectors.

The property of the dead is distributed by the chief attendant to his assistants. Intimate friends of the relatives feast the chief attendant and his assistants. The immediate relatives then go into mourning.

Mourning is characterized by neglect of personal appearance. Ragged clothes are worn, the hair is not combed, the body not washed, etc. This continues until the adoption ceremony. Unless this ceremony is held within 4 years, the soul of the dead will be denied a happy existence in the spirit world, and will instead turn into an owl.

The bereaved family adopts an individual to take the place left vacant by death. The adopted has to be of the same sex and of the same approximate age as the dead, and the two should have been

[84] Among the Sauk, women excavate the grave, using wooden bowls (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 37, 1923). The Fox say that women used to bury the dead (see also Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 409), but no longer do so, as the holes they dug were too shallow, and small animals ate the dead (ibid., p. 423). This reason cannot, of course, be taken too seriously, as in a common form of burial, performed by men, the head was left to peer out from the ground.

[85] As was also done among the Iowa, Kansa, and Osage (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 254, 1926).

[86] Marston (1820) says that knives and hatchets were placed in the coffins (*in* Morse, Rept. to Sec. War, p. 137). Galland, a doctor who presumably witnessed more than one death, referring to much the same period, says that when a person lay dying, all weapons were carried away and concealed (Ann. Iowa, 7, pp. 363–365, 1869). He said this was to show their nonresistance to divine will, but fear of the dead would seem a more likely motive.

companions in life. The adopted person, though still a member of his own gens and subject to its rules, takes over the duties and privileges of the deceased, including property rights; he is also prevented from marrying any woman related to him by adoption.

The prevailing tone of the adoption ceremony is that of gladness.[87] The favorite game of the deceased is played.[88] Anyone who wishes—except the adopted—can join in. Then a feast [89] is given to the accompaniment of kettle drum and gourd rattles, and the bereaved give the adopted many presents. The adopted then sets out for home, and the music gradually dies down.

A somewhat different ceremony is given for a warrior who died a natural death. Warriors only are invited to this, and instead of games, each in turn gives in pantomime the story of a raid he once participated in. This is called the Crow dance,[90] from the crow-skin belt worn by the warriors.

If the warrior was slain in battle, the rites take on a more serious aspect, and consume more time. The one to be adopted fasts and seeks a dream, with the intention of avenging the dead. The last time this form of adoption was held was in Kansas in 1854, but the memory of it is still thoroughly alive.

Sometime after the last rites of adoption, the person adopted takes gifts in person to his sponsor. After this there is an intimate social intercourse between sponsor and adopted and their near blood relatives.

If the sponsor gets hold of some particularly nice kind of food at any future time, a quiet little feast is made ready for the dead, at which the adopted is present. The fire is allowed to die down, the ashes are taken out, and the hearth swept clean. The food is placed by the hearth, the lodge put in order and closed up. Everything is hushed. Those few who are invited come in quietly, and after an

[87] For descriptions of adoption ceremonies see: Annals of Iowa, 17, p. 59 (held in 1928); A. Busby, Two Summers among the Musquakies, pp. 188–190; W. Jones, JAFL, 1911, pp. 220–221; T. Michelson, Am. J. Sociology, 34, pp. 890–892, 1928–29; Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 333, 359–360, 361–364, 385, 397, 411–413, 425–429; Rebok, Last of the Musquakies, p. 46, Rept. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1896, p. 162.

[88] The two moieties play against each other (Jones, JAFL, 1911, pp. 220–221; Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 363, 385). If the deceased was a Tokan, then the Kickos cannot win, and vice versa (ibid., p. 385). This reminds one of the Winnebago fast-eating contest, which good form demands that the host's phratry be allowed to win (Radin, Thirty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn, p. 487).

[89] There seems to be a feeling that it is bad to have too much food at these feasts (Michelson, Am. J. Soc., 34, pp. 890–892; Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 411–413). But another informant justifies the large amount of food which actually is provided by saying that the food is for the ghosts (ibid., p. 397).

[90] For a description of an actual Crow dance see ibid., p. 383.

invocation by the sponsor to the departed, the guests eat up all the food—except some which was dropped on the hearth—and depart as silently as they came.

Death.[91]—In the day and in the night of the day of the burial everything must be quiet. There must be no gaiety of any kind.

Burial.[92]—The grave is dug east and west and 4 to 5 feet deep. It is dug [93] the morning of the burial.

Relatives of the dead appoint a certain man to see to the burial. This chief attendant has others to help him. These aids dig the grave.

A man is appointed to speak to the dead. The speech is a farewell.[94] In the course of the farewell the man sprinkles tobacco at the feet of the dead. His position is at the foot of the body. At the conclusion of the talk the face is uncovered and the people look upon the dead. As one comes up to view, one sprinkles a bit of tobacco. Then at the end of the view, the speaker says a few more words and sprinkles some more tobacco upon the body. Then the body is covered and lowered into the grave.

The chief attendant arranges the gifts as the assistants cover the grave. When they finish, their presents are given them by the chief attendant. The gifts were the property of the dead.[95]

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[91] People die for this reason: Unfriendly manitous once managed to kill Wīsă'kă's younger brother. Wīsă'kă went into mourning. The manitous were so touched that they allowed the little brother to return, but Wīsă'kă thought that he was being mocked, and though by the fourth night the little brother had managed to get his nails inside the door, still Wīsă'kă could not believe it was really he, and refused to let him in. If it had not been for that, the dead would return after 4 days (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 364–368, 387–393, 473–481).

[92] For specific accounts of burials see A. Busby, Two Summers Among the Musquakies, pp. 120–121, 122, 127–128; W. Jones, JAFL, 1911, pp. 224–225; T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 369–372; Rebok, The Last of the Musquakies, pp. 52–55; Rept. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1898, pp. 165–166. For a mythical account of the first burial see T. Michelson, loc. cit., pp. 405, 407, 409.

[93] Not just anywhere, but near dead relatives (T. Michelson, loc. cit., p. 421).

[94] For examples of farewell speeches to the dead see W. Jones, Fox Texts, p. 383; T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 367, 368, 381, 393–395, 401, 409–411, 417–421, 481. Certain formulas tend to reappear in these speeches, but the phraseology can nevertheless be varied considerably. The message may be formal and repetitious, or it may be short and very simple, but the substance of it is usually much like this: "Don't feel too badly that you are dead, as everyone dies sooner or later. However, don't look backward at your friends and wish that they join you, but go quietly to Iyāpātă (Wīsă'kă's younger brother, the first person to die, and the ruler of the spirit world) with this tobacco, and ask him to grant long life (perhaps also blankets) to those who sent it."

[95] Even the toys of children are given to those who buried them (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 455).

Before the gifts are distributed [96] a stake is driven in at the west end of the grave.[97] The stake is peeled of its bark. A pup is choked and put west of the stake. It faces the west and lies as if traveling westward. Bands of calico are tied round the lower part of the legs. The pup is to accompany the dead [98] in order that Po'kwitepähuwa [99] may not harm the dead.

The chief attendant and his associates are invited to eat immediately after the burial.[1] The chief attendant serves the notice immediately after he distributes the gifts. Each one takes his presents away with him.[2]

[96] The Foxes say that once there used to be fights over these goods (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 423).

[97] This stick indicates the gens of the dead (A. Busby, Two Summers, pp. 117–118; T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 358, 371). Warriors' exploits may be depicted on it (Galland, Ann. Iowa, 7, pp. 363–365, 1869; Marston *in* Morse, Rept. Sec. War, p. 137; Rebok, Last of Musquakies, pp. 52–55, Rept. Comm. Ind. Aff., 1898, pp. 165–166).

[98] Other companions were sometimes furnished the dead. Warriors sometimes made brief recital of their deeds, giving the spirit of the slain enemy to their dead friend (Busby, loc. cit., p. 122; Marston, loc. cit., p. 137, etc.). This spirit was to protect the dead from "the one who destroys people" (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 381), take care of the dead and guide him to the spirit land (ibid., p. 383), and do errands and take care of the food which was carried along (ibid., p. 427).

[99] "Head-Piercer." Beliefs concerning this mythological personage are rather confused, even the question of sex not being beyond doubt. One man who visited the spirit world in a delirium reported that he saw nothing of the old hag (W. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 207–211). Another individual who visited the spirit world was pursued by Head-Piercer, and only escaped at the expense of his horse (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 399–401). Another confused reference is to be found (ibid., p. 393). Probably "the one who destroys people" (ibid., p. 381), from whom the dead were to be protected, was "Head-Piercer." In Sauk mythology he guards the bridge to the spirit world, helped by a watch-dog, and tries to dash out the brains of passing souls. If he is successful, the soul is lost (A. Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 36, 1923).

Marston mentions a mythical eagle sent to take little children's brains and bury them, to keep the evil manitou from getting their brains and thus acquiring a permanent hold on them. The brains are to be given back when the children get old enough to travel, and with their newly acquired sense, they then walk away from the evil manitou (*in* Morse, Rept. Sec. War, p. 139). This sounds like a rather Christianized rationalization of Po'kwitepähuwa's habit of taking out a fingerful of brain, after cracking the skull (W. Jones, Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa). This latter concept is probably to be connected with the belief that a hole was bored in the small soul's head and charcoal put in, to make it forget the people on earth (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 358).

[1] They are fed for 4 successive days (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 371, 395, 423, etc.).

[2] But he leaves them out of doors for 4 days (ibid., p. 371), undoubtedly because the soul doesn't depart before that time.

Mourning.[3]—At the death of a person there is a kīgäno [sacred feast] by the clan. A dog is killed in the evening. The hair is singed off by fire brought from the lodge of the dead. Four firebrands are brought; they are brought by four persons, each carrying one.

The clan holds its kīgäno all night long. The gourd rattles are used. The songs are of mourning.[4] The mourners eat at midnight.

When one of a married pair dies, the other is spoken of as cīgāwiwa.[5] This person must not go to any gaiety, must refrain from all pleasures, must dress plainly, unostentatiously, even at times in rags. The person must be as inconspicuous as possible.[6]

A time comes [7] when this person adopts another, or has another adopted to take the place of the departed. After the event the person then is spoken of as pā'niwa.[8] The person then comes out of mourning,

[3] The Fox explain the origin of their mourning customs as dating back to a time when two brothers had an only sister who was ill-treated by her husband, and finally died. In their indignation they forced their brother-in-law to wear their old clothing. It finally occurred to them to adopt another woman to be a sister to them, and then they released their brother-in-law and gave him fresh clothing (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 429–433).

[4] Practically every gens and society has its own mourning songs (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 358; Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 153). For the wailing songs of the Feathered or Thunder gens see Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 154–176.

[5] Widow or widower unreleased from death ceremonies. A person in this state could profoundly affect the course of nature: dry up brooks by wading across them, ruin the harvest by walking through a garden, crack the ground and bring hot weather by going barefoot, and kill a horse or tree by touching it, etc. (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 437, 439, 485, 487).

[6] For the mourning rules parents should observe when a child dies, see Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 453–463; Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 75–79. For a detailed discussion of the way a man should behave when his wife dies, see Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 435–451. For proper behavior for widows see ibid., pp. 331–333, 485–491; Perrot, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, I, pp. 70–71. Rules are slightly stricter for women (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 360). It is interesting to note that women were mocked and insulted if they wept for their husbands (Perrot, loc. cit., pp. 70–71), and although the woman of the Autobiography felt terribly when her husband died, she went far off to mourn, so that people wouldn't say, "Heavens! she must be very sorry, even as if she were related to him" (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 331); but a widower, on the other hand, was supposed to show more grief than his wife's relatives (ibid., p. 437).

[7] Two years seems to have been the orthodox period (Perrot, loc. cit., pp. 70–71, 73; Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 79; Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 447). According to Perrot a chief had to mourn only 6 months, because to show the proper hospitality to visitors it was necessary that he have women to cultivate the land; but a war chief had to mourn like anybody else. According to Marston, a woman should mourn her husband at least 12 months (*in* Morse, Rept. Sec. War, p. 137). Sauk mourning customs as described by Skinner (Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 32, 1923) are very similar to Fox, with the notable exception that the mourning period was from 30 to 40 days.

[8] Widow (or widower) released from death ceremonies.

dresses according to his or her taste, and can woo or be wooed.[9] When an adoption is held for a woman's dead husband, then she dresses in holiday attire. īnă'pānitci is the phrase used in reference to her coming out of mourning.

The adoption ceremony.—An old man is chosen to take the place of another old man who has died. The selection may be made by the son. The person chosen is usually one who was a close friend to the one who is dead.

Two may be adopted at one time to take the place of the one that has died.

A man and woman were adopted. The woman accompanied the man to the place where the men played ball. There she stayed until the game was over. Then the woman followed the man to the place where she was adopted.

Two men sat down west of and in front of the place where the presents were hanging. They began singing. Presently the man and woman began to dance, the man leading. The man's step was but a walk which kept time to the song and the drum. The woman's dance was more of a dance. Each foot went out and back before it touched ground. The man and the woman danced around the pole where hung the presents.

One time a man died. A period of 4 years went by and no ceremony was held for him. At the end of that time he turned into an owl.[10]

A bucket hung from a branch in the tree, and on the bucket hooted the owl. A person must have an adoption ceremony held for him after death. It must be before the third year after his death because in that year he begins to become an owl.

The Kīwāgamōhagi adoption.[11]—This society is a military organization composed of both men and women. The members hold the dance

[9] If a man or woman would wait 4 years after the death of the mate, he or she acquired mystic power. If a man's sisters-in-law disliked him, they would try to bring it about that he broke some of the mourning rules. If he did not yield, it was dangerous for a woman to refuse him (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 441, 443).

[10] A frequently reiterated belief. See, for example, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 385, 411, 425, 433.

[11] Rendered by Jones "The ones who do the fighting for us" (JAFL, 1911, p. 222). Some additional information on their adoption feast is given there, also. Michelson translates it "They who go about singing" (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 545). For the origin myth of this society see ibid., pp. 551–611; see also p. 356.

Different societies have their own particular adoption rites. Michelson mentions several types about which little is known (ibid., p. 357). Jones discusses briefly the Mide adoption rite (Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa), but says the custom is really Sauk, and is important to the Fox only as certain individuals are adopted into the Sauk society.

at a time when a person is adopted to take the place of a dead member.[12]

The members stand while singing for the dance. Some of the men have small gourd rattles and certain ones have hand drums. All dance and sing at the same time. The men dance in a circle, moving sidewise and facing the center. The women stand side by side and dance without moving from their places. Their dance is a rhythmical rise and fall of the whole body. The women face the men and a wide space intervenes between them and the men.

Feeding the dead.[13]—I was once stopping in a lodge where an old widow lived. With her lived a married daughter and son-in-law and three grandchildren. Early in the day she went to the field and gathered some corn that was just ripening. She fetched it to the lodge and prepared it carefully. She placed none of it on the mat at the midday meal. In the afternoon she cleaned up the lodge and removed the ashes of the old fire, and rearranged the same spot but did not kindle a fire there.

An hour or so before sunset a young woman appeared at the lodge. She was in gay holiday dress. When it was growing dusk, I was called with others to come into the lodge. In a place between the fireplace and the western door sat the young woman on a mat. Before her was the bowl of boiled corn. We took our places round about the vessel and sat waiting in silence.

On the platform at the side sat the old woman. She spoke to the relatives that had died, and when she was done we began eating. We ate until the corn was all gone. The old woman remained silent where she sat and ate nothing.

The young woman was her adopted daughter. She had taken the place of a daughter that had died, and had come to eat with the spirit of the departed. The hour of dusk was chosen because such is the time when the spirits of the dead are abroad. The invited guests were nearly all relatives of the old woman.

One evening I was asked to come to a lodge. It was after sunset and when it was growing dusk. On entering, I saw people old and young seated about a large bowl of prepared green corn. The corn had been boiled. It was still; not a voice or whisper was heard. On the platform at the side sat an old man and his wife. Presently the

[12] The person adopted becomes a member of the society. This is corroborated by statements in JAFL, 1911, pp. 222–223. In the Mide adoption this is not the case; entrance into the society can only be gained through the usual elaborate rituals.

[13] For an early account of the custom among Algonquian tribes in general see Perrot, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, I, pp. 86–88. Another feast that Jones witnessed is described, JAFL, 1911, pp. 225–226. For a woman's prayer on the occasion of offering first-fruits to the souls of the dead, see Jones, Fox texts, p. 383. See also Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 483.

woman began to murmur the names of relatives that had died, addressing them and speaking to them as if present in body and in life. When she ended, with the name of the last she raised her voice a little and said: "tcīpaiyagi nīcamāwagi," which means "I am going to feed the dead." This was followed by "ha^{u}! ha^{u}!" from the invited guests who then began eating. The exclamation means something like "All right, very well." The guests ate until not a grain was left in the vessel.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Fox Gentes

The Foxes are divided into exogamous gentes in which descent is reckoned through the male line. With few exceptions individuals are given names belonging to the gens of the father. (See Appendix C for names belonging to the various gentes.)

TABLE 1.—*Lists of Fox Gentes* [1]

Names	Jones [2]		Morgan [3]	Galland [4]	Forsyth [5]	Jes. Rel.[6]
	1906	Undated	1869	Ca. 1830	1826	1672
Bear	1	1	2	5	2	2
Fox	2	2	11	12	1	1
Wolf	3	5	1	11	3	
Elk	4	7	4		7	
Big Lynx	5	10				
Buffalo	6		8			
Swan	7	12			4	
Pheasant	8	6		10	5	
Eagle	9	3	6	3		4
Sea	10	13	12	4		
Sturgeon	11	11	13	2		
Bass	12	9			8	
Thunder	13	4	9	6	6	
Bear Potato	14	8		9		
Raccoon		3a				
Beaver		10a				3
Otter		10b				
Deer			3	8		
Hawk			5			
Fish			7			
Bone			10			
Big Tree			14			
Ringed Perch				1		
Water				7		

[1] Another list is given by Miss Owen in her Folklore of the Musquakie Indians of North America, London, 1904. Since her book has been shown to be unreliable (see article by Michelson in a forthcoming issue of the American Anthropologist for details), that list has not been included here.

[2] The column headed 1906 was made out by Jones for the article Fox in the Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn. The undated list was found among his unpublished notes, and is presumably earlier than the 1906 list. The omission of Raccoon, Beaver, and Otter from the later list is explained by the fact that the first has been assimilated by the Eagle gens and the other two by the Big Lynx. This makes the only significant difference between the two sets: the inclusion of a Buffalo gens in the 1906 list. The weight of evidence is against a Buffalo gens among the Foxes. They do have, however, a Buffalo Society which does not belong to any gens; rather, membership cuts through gens lines. It is possible that the peculiarities of Fox terminology have caused confusion here. The word the Foxes use for gens is mi'sōni, which means literally "name" (whose, not specified; "my name" is nī'sōni (T. Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur.

REMARKS CONCERNING FOX GENTES

1. *Bear* (makwakisowa, Bear name; mä'kwisutcigi, Bear names, i. e. those that go by the name of Bear; from ma'kwagi, black bears).[14]—This is the royal gens from which the chief is chosen. A big gens.

2. *Fox* (wākucä'agi, Foxes, both animal and gens; wakocahisowa, Fox name; wakucähisutcigi, Fox names; wākō'ägi, Foxes, name of the gens but not the animal; wākōhi'kwäwagi, the women of the gens). This gens is also known as the *War Chief* gens (manesenōgimāwagi; manesenūwi means anything that has to do with the department of war; manesenūwinäwa, one that has been killed in battle). The *Kindly Chief* gens is also said to belong to the Fox gens [15] (kecäogimawa). There is a subgens called *meskwaposa*.[16] No one man is necessarily looked up to as the official head of the gens. When there is a head it is usually a man who has ability for large affairs. When the tribe was big and the gens large there were usually several men who were looked up to as heads of the gens. A big gens.

[14] The gens is divided into Black Bears and Brown Bears. The tribal chieftainship belongs in the Black Bear division. Dr. Michelson's membership lists indicate that the Black and Brown Bears have separate ceremonies, for the most part. (See Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 5–7, and Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 16.) Another name for the Bear gens is kī'ckitīyāteig^{ki}, "Those Who Have Short Tails." This corresponds with "Short Tails," a ceremonial term for the Bear gens among the Sauk. (See Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 2, 9; and Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, V, p. 14, 1923.)

[15] It is somewhat puzzling at first that the Kindly Chief gens and the War Chief gens should both belong to the Fox gens. Among the Menomini, however, the Peace Chief was a hereditary leader of the warrior police. The Fox Kindly Chief gens might be a similar lineage group, in which case their being closely related to the War Chief gens is easily understood.

[16] Michelson suggests that this should be meskwapuswa, Red Rabbit. If this is so, this undoubtedly represents a lineage group stemming from Joseph Tesson, whose Indian name was Meskwapuswa. He was born in 1841, the son of a quarter-blood Menomini with considerable French blood, and said to belong to the War Chief gens. Why he should be a member of this gens is not clear, but it is easy to understand that his descendants might be set apart and given an identifying designation as a group.

Amer. Ethn., p. 122).) In referring to any specific gens, terms are used which can be translated "Bear name," or "Those named after the Bear," for example. The Buffalo Society sits as a group at the Buffalo-Head Dance of the Thunder gens (Michelson, Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 21), exactly as if it were a gens, and it is called nänu'swa'ckwä 'agi^{d}tcā'i, translated "The Society of Those Named After the Buffalo." Thus it will be seen that confusion could arise only too easily.

[3] A list of gentes for the confederated Sauk and Fox, given in his Ancient Society (p. 170). As Michelson has pointed out (Amer. Anthrop. (n. s.) 26, p. 96), this list, the most discordant one of all, must be taken as Sauk rather than Fox. For when Morgan got his list in Kansas in 1869, the main body of the Foxes had already gone back to Iowa.

[4] Indian Tribes of the West, *in* Annals of Iowa for 1869. The Ringed Perch entry is based on Galland's Pau-kau-hau-moi, left untranslated. Michelson has discussed this in Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 501–502. He is inclined to consider the whole list Sauk rather than Fox.

[5] *In* Blair, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Region. II, p. 192. His paper shows that he was a very trustworthy observer. His list should carry more weight than Galland's.

[6] Jesuit Relation, Thwaites ed., vol. 58, p. 41. In a list of the various Jesuit missions (1672–73) we find the following: "The mission of St. Marc to the Outagami [the usual French term for the Fox tribe, derived from the Ojibwa Utugamig, 'people of the other shore'] where are the Ouagoussak [Fox people], Makoua [Bear], Makoucoue [Beaver], and Mikissioua [Eagle]." With the exception of the Foxes, these groups then disappear from history. Since all 4 are names of Fox gentes, and they are described as speaking the same dialect, the probability is that they were not separate tribes, but strong gentile groups.

3. *Eagle* (megesiwagi, megesīwīsutcigi, from megesíwa, the bald eagle, which is white-headed, with tail feathers wholly white, and lives mostly on fish; included in this gens are the ketiwagi, dark-colored eagles, with white-tipped tail feathers. These live on turkey, prairie chickens, rabbits, etc.).—*Raccoons* belong to this gens. Members of this gens can be chief, can lead war parties, can be councilmen. Not an especially big gens.

4. *Thunder* (nenemekiwagi).—Also known as the *Feathered gens* [17] (wämikohisutcigi, wämikohagi, shortened from wämikonenut, those that have feathers). In the minds of some, Eagle and Thunder were originally the same.[18] A member of this gens can be chief, can be a councilman, and can lead a war party, although it is said that a Thunder man is likely to be unsuccessful in leading a war party because a member of the gens once refused aid to a Thunder Being in the latter's conflict with a water-monster.[19] A large gens, probably the largest.

5. *Wolf* (mahwäwagi; mahwäwisutcigi; mawhawisowa, Wolf name; from mawhawa, wolf; also called mamecīhagi, servants or waiters).—These are a lower grade of people. They cannot be chiefs. They can be councilmen, and can be warriors, but they must be of a lower class, and they cannot rise to distinction. The chief gentes or royal gentes call them their waiters. It is said that the Wolf gens was once divided into a Big Wolf and a Coyote, the former holding the higher position politically and socially, almost on a par with the chiefs.[20] A big gens.

6. *Pheasant* (pa'kiwagi; pä'kiwīsutcigi; from pakiwa, pheasant; these are also mamicihagi, waiters).—Members of this gens can be councilmen but not chiefs. The gens is small and has been small for a long time.[21]

7. *Elk* (mecäwäwisutcigi, Elk names, from meshäwäwa, elk).—Members of this gens can be councilmen but not chiefs. The gens is small and has been small for a long time.[21]

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[17] Among the Sauk the Thunder gens was also called the Feathered gens, and the ceremonial designation was "You Who Have Feathers" (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, V, pp. 13–14, 1923).

[18] They are the same among the Iowa. (See Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, V, p. 193, 1926.)

[19] See W. Jones, Fox Texts, pp. 203–207. Other versions of this myth exist in which the Thunder Being was given human help (T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 119–123, 128–129). This latter form of the myth has a wide distribution. Michelson has discussed the conflict between Thunder Beings and water monsters (ibid., pp. 51–56).

[20] Among the Iowa each gens has four subgentes. The Wolf gens is subdivided into Black Wolf, Big Wolf, Half Coyote, and Coyote (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, V, p. 194, 1926).

[21] The last member is now dead (T. Michelson).

8. *Bear Potato* (ma'gopenyägi, Bear potatoes; mä'gopenwisutcigi, Bear Potato Names).—Members of this gens can be chiefs and councilmen. Not an especially large gens.

9. *Bass* (äciganwisutcigi; aciganagi).—Members of this gens can be councilmen but not chiefs. Not a large gens.

10. *Big Lynx* (päciwisutcigi, from pecipeciwa, a mythical animal like a lion, believed to live under the water).[22]—Members of this gens can be councilmen but not chiefs. *Beavers* and *Otters* are included in this gens.

11. *Sturgeon* (nämäwisutcigi, Sturgeon names, from nemäwagi, sturgeons).—Members of this gens can be chief. This is the royal gens among the Sauks. It is not a big gens.

12. *Swan* (hähäwisutcigi, from hähäwagi.[22a]—Members of this gens can be councilmen but not chiefs. It is a small gens.

13. *Sea* (Ke'tci Kumiwisutcigi; Ketcigamisoa; from Ke'tci Kumīwi, sea).

TABLE 2.—*Analysis of population by gens.*[1]

Gens	Men[2]	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Gens	Men[2]	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Bear	32	15	13	12	72	Elk	----	1	----	----	1
Fox[3]	15	5	10	8	38	Pheasant	----	2	----	----	2
Thunder	29	26	19	17	91	Unknown	14	33	12	6	65
Wolf	13	9	6	6	34						
Fish[4]	11	9	3	9	32	Total	115	101	66	60	342
Eagle	1	1	3	2	7						

[1] In 1906. Under the title "The Meskwaki People of Today," Iowa J. Hist. and Polit., 4, pp. 190–219, 1906, Duren Ward published a list of those Indians at Tama who were considered members of the Fox Tribe by both the United States Government and the Meskwaki Council. He gave for each the Indian name, the English name if known, the sex, date of birth, and relationship to others on the list where known. This tribal roll has been used as a key chart to which has been added such information as to gens, membership in societies and in the tribal dual division, etc., as was available from Jones' notes, Indian Bureau annuity rolls, Michelson's published Fox material, and Michelson's unpublished membership lists, obtained in 1917, and kindly put at my disposal. The picture is not complete, and unfortunately it was not possible for me to go to Tama and attempt to fill the gaps. The chart appears as appendix A.

[2] Youths and girls 15 years of age or over have been counted as men and women, since several individuals were married at this age.

[3] Includes Kindly Chief and War Chief members.

[4] In 1917 Michelson obtained a membership list for a Fish gens (nemesisoteig [k]). Jones' genealogical notes show that Swan, Sea, Bass, and Beaver individuals, at least, have been lumped together under this heading. It is probable that the Big Lynx and Sturgeon remnants have also been grouped here. It has been impossible to unscramble all the component parts of the Fish gens, so the data are here presented as though the amalgamation had taken place by 1906, although I do not know whether this was actually the case or not.

[22] The Big Lynx, or Underneath Lynx, is usually considered an evil manitou. (See, for example, T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 119.)

[22a] Wapisisoa, Swan name, also occurs in the genealogical data.

ORIGINAL GENTES

According to Pacitonigwa (the last chief of the Fox Indians to be recognized by the United States Government) the original gentes of the Meskwaki were Bear, Fox (including War Chief and Meskwaposa), Eagle, Wolf, and Thunder.[23]

[23] Except for Meskwaposa, which seems to be very recent indeed (see p. 73), and Eagle, the rest of the gentes mentioned are on Forsyth's list (1826). If the Jesuit Relation for 1672 was referring to gentes, Bear, Fox, and Eagle go back to that date. It should be mentioned, however, that Pacitonigwa was himself a Bear, that he was talking to William Jones, who was an Eagle (the Eagle and Bear gentes also have reciprocal ceremonial functions), and that the four large gentes among the Foxes were Bear, Fox (or War Chief), Wolf, and Thunder.

We have another native statement as to the original gentes, this time from a prominent member of the War Chief gens (Fox). In a long account of the culture hero which this man gave to Dr. Michelson (this account has not yet been published, but it can be said that it seems to be a very recent attempt at systematization, and may even represent the viewpoint of a single, though highly gifted individual), the origin of Fox gentes is explained as follows: the Great Spirit made the War Chiefs; then the culture hero made the Bears, and they were to be chiefs, "because once a bear was the husband of our grandmother" (a reference to the well-known Bear Paramour myth); then the Great Spirit made the Kindly Chiefs; and the culture hero made the War Chief-Bear. Elsewhere in the same account he states that the War Chiefs were the first to be made, the Bears next, then the Kindly Chiefs; that these three were to be chiefs; that the Bald Eagles were to serve the chiefs, and that the other gentes were to come in any order, and do service for any gens; Wolves were to serve War Chiefs.

In the account of Fox ceremonial runners (T. Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 7, 1927), the original and leading gentes are given as Bear, War Chief (Fox), Feathered (Thunder), and Eagle; and when they gathered, one "name" (gens) was on the east side, one on the south, one on the west, and one on the north. This stressing of four gentes (four is the Fox sacred number) recalls Beltrami's statement that the Foxes "like the Saukis, are distributed into four tribes" (A Pilgrimage, vol. II, p. 169). Beltrami gave no names. His letter was dated 1823. Forsyth's account, written in 1826, lists eight gentes, and throws no light on the subject.

Miss Busby's account only adds to the confusion (Two Summers among the Musquakies, pp. 106–109, 1886). She says "Four clans, or bands, formerly constituted this branch of the Indians. The Wolf, Bear, Buffalo, and Elk, each of whom have the right to a chief, but three alone are now represented." In no other account is the Wolf gens placed among those having the right to a chief. The existence of a Buffalo gens is doubtful, and she makes no mention of the Fox or War Chief gens. We have evidence that the Fox gens was one of the leading gentes from the time of first French contact. La Potherie says that the Outagamies are of two lineages, Renards and Red Earth (a translation of Meskwaki, the native name of the tribe). Then he goes on to describe dealings that Perrot had with them. The Renard chief refused the calumet, but the Red Earth chief followed Perrot around and tried to smooth out everything (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, I, pp. 360–361). This was the conventional behavior for peace and war chiefs.

EXOGAMY

TABLE 3.—*Marriages as shown by Jones' genealogies.*[1]

Gens	Sea	B. P.	Pheasant	Elk	Beaver	Eagle	Swan	Bass	Thunder	Wolf	Kindly	War	Bear	Total
Bear	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	3	2	0	12
War Chief	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	--	6
Kindly Chief	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	--	--	4
Wolf	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	--	--	--	5
Thunder	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	--	--	--	--	4
Bass	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	--	--	--	--	--	1
Swan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Eagle	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Beaver	0	0	0	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Elk	0	0	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Pheasant	0	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Bear Potato	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Sea	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
Total	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	10	5	4	2	0	32

[1] As nearly as can be judged, most of these marriages took place between 1835 and 1860. Some may be even earlier. For the genealogies see appendix B.

TABLE 4.—*Marriages in 1906.*[1]

Gens	Pheasant	Elk	Eagle	Fish	Thunder	Wolf	Fox	Bear	Total
Bear	0	0	0	5	7	2	4	2	20
Fox	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	----	10
Wolf	0	0	0	0	6	1	----	----	7
Thunder	1	2	2	1	4	----	----	----	10
Fish	0	0	0	0	----	----	----	----	0
Eagle	0	0	0	----	----	----	----	----	0
Elk	0	0	----	----	----	----	----	----	0
Pheasant	0	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0
Total	1	2	2	10	23	3	4	2	47

[1] For the sources of this data see appendix A. These 47 marriages represent all the unions known to me of persons living in 1906, where the gens of each mate was known. This includes marriages of which only one member was surviving in 1906, if the gens of the deceased was known, and earlier marriages of any individuals, if such information was available. It was not considered safe, however, to infer marriages when the gentes of mothers and children differed, for two reasons: First, the census rolls do not always distinguish between household groups and biological families; and second, adoptions might have clouded the issue in any given case, since adoptions for ceremonial purposes are known to have occurred.

These marriages took place roughly between 1860 and 1906, and there is almost no overlapping with those reported in table 3.

It should be added that these marriages account for somewhat less than half of the marriages of which at least one member was surviving in 1906. In the remaining marriages the gens of one or both mates is unknown.

It will be seen that in table 3 there is only one possible breach of gens exogamy, the marriage between a Kindly Chief and a War Chief.

Table 4 shows seven breaches of gens exogamy, but there is some question whether all seven are actually breaches from the Fox point of view. The data on these seven cases follow:

	Name	Gens	Sex	Born	Remarks
1	Makatämäskikwä--	Bear--------	M	1873	Not on Bear gens list; father a Sauk; also has Winnebago blood.
	Päpyena----------	Bear (?)-----	F	1878	On Bear list; illegitimate; actual father a Bear; said by one informant to belong to Fox gens.
2	Etaneto----------	Thunder----	M	1886	On Thunder list.
	Kämiyanosewa----	Thunder----	F	1888	Do.
3	Papakiwa---------	Thunder----	M	1858	Do.
	Wätäto-----------	Thunder----	F	1866	A Sauk; not on Fox Thunder list.
4	Mamasa-----------	Bear--------	M	1871	On Bear list; one of several marriages.
	Mäskwapanokwä--	Bear--------	F	1882	On Bear list.
5	Pyepaha----------	Thunder----	M	1866	Father a Sauk.
	Känomä-----------	Thunder (?) -	F	1859	Illegitimate; on Thunder list, but said by one informant to belong to Bear gens.
6	Wapanätoka------	Thunder----	M	1884	Son of above pair.
	Pegataikwäa------	Thunder (?) -	F	------	A Winnebago; not on Fox Thunder list; her father said to be a Bear; there is a Thunder-bird gens among the Winnebago, but no Thunder.
7	Mäkikyawa--------	Wolf--------	M	1876	On Wolf list, but father said to be a Thunder.
	Shapuchiwa-------	Wolf--------	F	1879	On Wolf list.

It will be seen that only three of these cases are marriages between Fox individuals whose names occur on the same gens list. It is to be regretted that we have not more information, since it is always possible that if the gaps were filled in the number of breaches might grow to a more significant number. But as the data stand they indicate that until 1900, at least, the Foxes have clung to gentile exogamy with a tenacity which seems quite extraordinary, when the spectacular losses by war and disease suffered by the tribe are taken into consideration.

RECIPROCAL FUNCTION AND THE MOIETY QUESTION [24]

In the feasts and ceremonials the gentes pair off thus:

Bear—Eagle
Wolf—Thunder

[24] Although little is known of the theoretical or actual reciprocal functions of the numerically weak gentes, for the stronger ones there is considerable additional information:

Gens pairs	*Source of information*
Bear—Eagle	Michelson, unpublished; Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 7; Proc. 23d Cong. Amer., pp. 545–546, 1928; Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 3.
Bear—Thunder	Michelson, unpublished; Amer. Anthrop. (n. s.) 15, pp. 691–693, 1913; Proc. 23d Cong. Amer., pp. 545–546, 1928; Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 7, 49.
Bear—War Chief (Fox)	Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 3, 9.
Wolf—War Chief (Fox)	Michelson, unpublished; 23d Cong. Amer., pp. 545–546, 1928; Bull 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 3.

From accounts of specific ceremonies we obtain the following:

Gens giving festival	Gens of leading attendants	Source of information
Bear	War Chief Eagle.	Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 122, 147; Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 8; Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 113.
Bear	Eagle Thunder.	Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 147.
Bear	Thunder War Chief.	Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 9.
Thunder	Wolf Bear.	Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 110.
War Chief	Wolf Bear.	Michelson, forthcoming bulletin—Fox Miscellany.
Wolf	War Chief Thunder.	Michelson, forthcoming bulletin—Fox Miscellany. (Not a specific ceremony, but to be inferred from statements in the origin myth of How the Green Buffalo Bestowed a Blessing.)

These instances prove the existence of the following ceremonial dichotomy:

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\text{Bear}\\ \text{Wolf}\end{matrix}\right\} \text{vs.} \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Eagle}\\ \text{War Chief}\\ \text{Thunder}\end{matrix}\right.$$

This brings us to the heart of the moiety question. Outside of the division of the tribe into Kickos and To'kans, to be taken up in the next chapter, we have only two other hints of a tribal dichotomy among the Foxes. Jones in his remarks on Fox gentes said that members of certain gentes could be chiefs, and members of others could not; and Galland gives us a division of gentes, supposedly

The Dual Division

The whole Fox tribe is divided into two classes: (1) To'kana (Oskaciha) [25] and (2) Kicko.

A To'kana paints himself black with charcoal and a Kicko paints himself white with white clay.

made by the culture hero, for ceremonial purposes, into chieftains and waiters (Annals of Iowa, p. 350 et seq., 1869). These three moiety groupings are put side by side in table 5.

TABLE 5.—*Dichotomy of Fox gentes*

Based on actual ceremonies	Jones' list [1]		Galland's list	
	Can be chiefs	Cannot be chiefs	Chieftains	Waiters
Bear—Eagle	Bear	Fox (War Chief)	Pau kau hau moi [2]	Water
Wolf—Thunder War Chief	Eagle	Wolf	Sturgeon	Deer
	Thunder	Pheasant	Eagle	Bear Potato
	Bear Potato	Elk	Great Water	Pheasant
	Sturgeon	Bass	Bear	Wolf
		Big Lynx	Thunder	Fox
		Swan		

[1] Sea not assigned. [2] Ringed Perch.

It will be seen that Jones' list and Galland's list check reasonably well, the Bear Potato gens being the only one on which there is positive disagreement. Just how this is to be interpreted is not clear. Galland's list is said to represent a ceremonial division. Jones' list must also be taken as ceremonial rather than political, since the tribal chieftainship has been considered to belong to the Black Bear division of the Bear gens from as far back as it can be checked. Michelson is inclined to consider Galland's list Sauk (see Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 501–502; Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–2). The Ringed Perch and Deer items certainly support this view, although in other respects Galland's list checks the Sauk data no better than it does the Fox. However, Jones' data make it appear that Galland's division, hitherto completely unchecked, should be taken seriously; and if his data are Sauk, then it may well be that both Sauks and Foxes had at one time similar schemes of tribal dichotomy.

The next question is whether these moieties are exogamous. Reference to tables 3 and 4 would seem to show that they are not. However, one of the most striking things brought out by table 4 is the complete lack of Fox-Wolf marriages. (There is one in table 3.) This is the more striking in that these two gentes are both among the populous gentes for which we have relatively full information. It is to be regretted that we know too little about Eagle marriages to know whether the lack of Bear-Eagle marriages is significant. The information which we have about the Thunder gens is upsetting to any orderly scheme, but the Fox-Wolf situation indicates that some factor beyond simple gentile exogamy must be taken into account.

[25] The Sauk, Kickapoo, and Prairie Potawatomi have a similar tribal dual division. Fox names for the two parties cannot be translated. The term "Oskaciha" is preferred by some Foxes, and is always used by the Sauk and Kickapoo. The Fox term To'kana is probably related to Iowa Tukala. (See T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 548; Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 67.)

A person is appointed to one or the other division while a young infant.[26] The appointment is made by the father and mother, the father usually having more voice in the matter. The regular way is to put the first-born in one class and the second-born in the other. The rest of the children follow in the same alternation. The father is likely to put the first-born in the class of which he is a member, but it is not necessary for him to do so. He can, if he wishes, make all his children members of one class.

There is a family where the father is of the Thunder gens and the mother is of the Wolf gens. The father is a Kicko and the mother is a To'kana. They have a boy and he is a To'kana. He was made so by the mother.[27]

When a child is once put into one or the other phratry he stays there all his life.[28] The gens cuts no figure whatever in the phratry.[29]

The two parties divide off in ball games,[30] each side having the same number of players as the other.

The two sides take sport in bantering each other; one side extols its own prowess and deprecates that of the other, and brags of its own brave feats while speaking disparagingly of those of the other.

It is a disgrace for a To'kana to die running from any enemy, but not so for a Kicko.[31]

[26] An important part of the Sauk naming feast, according to Skinner (Bull Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 16, 1923).

[27] According to Michelson (Amer. Anthrop. 15 (n. s.), pp. 691–693, 1913) this is the regular rule by which children are assigned to one or the other of the two major divisions. It is not that the mother made the boy a To'kana, but the rule is that the first child, whether boy or girl, is assigned to the division to which the father does not belong, and the second child, boy or girl, belongs to the one to which the father does, and so on alternately. Marston reports (1820) that the first male child was always a Kiscoquah, the second an Oskosh, etc. (*in* J. Morse, Rept. to Secretary of War, p. 130), but his accompanying remarks make it seem likely that he was referring to the Sauk.

The same diversity exists in the membership rules reported for the Sauk. Skinner's rules agree with those of Michelson for the Fox (Skinner, loc. cit., p. 12). As has just been stated, Marston reported the first child to be a Kiscoquah; Harrington (Univ. Pa. Mus. Anthrop. Pub., 4, No. 2, p. 131, 1914) says that the first child was an Ackaca, the second a Kicko, etc.; and Forsyth said that the first child belonged to the same division as the father (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 193–194).

[28] Among the Sauk, according to Skinner, an adopted person sometimes changes his moiety (loc. cit., p. 15).

[29] And the dual division has nothing to do with marriage. Pedigrees back the statements of informants on this point (T. Michelson, Amer. Anthrop. 15 (n. s.), pp. 691–693, 1913).

[30] The two major divisions were prominent in the festivals, adoption feasts, buffalo hunt, and camp police, as well as in the ball games. (See T. Michelson, Amer. Anthrop. 15 (n. s.), pp. 691–693, 1913.)

[31] According to Sauk tradition an Oshkosh must complete anything he undertakes, but a Kisko may give up if he pleases (M. R. Harrington, loc. cit., p. 131; A. Skinner, loc. cit., p. 13).

Political Organization

The tribal council.—The head chief is the one who is at the head of the tribe. He is the man who calls the council together, and meets the chief men sent from other people.

There is an old chief who has no authority, but he comes to see how things are conducted. He was chief until he got too old to be as much good to the people as the present head chief is. The old chief comes and helps to give his voice in council because he is old and he knows what is good and best for his people.

Another chief who comes to council is the Quiet Chief, and he puts in his voice once in a while. He talks when affairs are for peace and quiet. He talks when there is harmony in the council. Just as soon as the man who meets the council gets angry, then he closes his mouth, is quiet, and says nothing more.

At this point the War Chief puts in his voice, and this is the man who is for the moment the principal man of the council. When affairs are peaceful then he is quiet and says no more until things take a hostile turn.

There is a councilman, who, so to speak, sits near the chief and keeps his ear open. He is to support the chief in his arguments, and if need be, take his place in the deliberations that are going on.

There is a man who takes down and keeps track of the doings of the council. He has a voice in the council. He knows everyone in the tribe and so is often called upon to do much in the council.

There are two men whose duty it is to announce to councilmen and chiefs the place where the next meeting is to be held. Usually one of the two does this unless the importance of the council demands dignity enough for the two to do it together.

Members of the tribe come and hear what is being done, but do not enter into any discussion.

Election of the chief.—The chief is chosen from the Bear gens.[32] Usually the eldest son takes the father's place. If the eldest son is not competent, the younger brother takes the father's place.[33] If the chief has no son, then his brother takes his place. If the chief has no relatives left, then someone in the Bear family is chosen. The man chosen does not necessarily have to be a warrior. He should be a safe man who will have the interests of the people at heart. Election of the chief is made by the councilmen. No vote is cast. The matter is talked about and a conclusion is come to by a general discussion.

[32] Specifically from the Black Bear division. Pacitonigwa was a Brown Bear and therefore not acceptable to all members of the tribe (Michelson, unpublished).

[33] There is an interesting item in Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 181. It is remarked that whoever could step over the sacred pack was to become chief. Only the chief's son was able to. Does this indicate the existence of some sort of psychological or magico-religious test of fitness for the position?

Anyone dissenting is gradually persuaded until there is a general agreement all around.

Native point of view on Fox government.—According to Pacitonigwa [34] and Nasapipyata,[35] there are two ruling gentes among the Meskwaki, the Bear and Sacred [36] gentes. They have equal power. The two head chiefs sit face to face in council. The Bear chief is the chief of the people as they exist among themselves, and the Sacred chief is the nation's representative in matters outside. The Sacred chief is the nation's spokesman in council with another nation. The Bear chief conducts himself according to public opinion. The Sacred chief can take the initiative. As a matter of fact the Bear chief is but a figure-head, while the Sacred chief is a very real kind of official.

Next in position, politically, is the War Chief gens. This is the Fox gens.[37]

[34] A Brown Bear, recognized as chief by the United States Government, and by a large part of the tribe.

[35] A noted warrior and councilor, a member of the Bass gens, and the brother of Pacitonigwa's wife.

[36] This is the only mention on record of a Sacred gens. I have no idea what is referred to, unless possibly the Kindly Chief gens. Even if this is so we are little better off, as we have practically no information about the latter.

[37] There is no adequate account of Fox political organization. Jones' material is incoherent and raises more questions than it answers. Forsyth has little to offer. He says that the chieftainship was hereditary, the power descending to the oldest male, and on refusal extending to brothers or nephews of the chief, and so on through male relatives of the family. There were no female chiefs. Chiefs directed the principal brave of the nation to plant sentinels. If relatives refused gifts offered in commutation of murder the chiefs settled the business. Councils were occasionally secret. Decisions had to be unanimous (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 186–187). Putting this with Jones' material there are still many lacunae.

In the past there were ceremonial runners, so called. This was a very difficult and honorable office, and took especially severe preparation in the way of fasting. The principal source of information about them is Michelson's paper—Notes on the Ceremonial Runners of the Fox Indians, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–50, 1927. Much about this is obscure. They no longer have ceremonial runners, but in the past they seem to have been important in publicizing and enforcing the decrees of the council. They are said to have been part of the council, and it was their duty to call the members of the council together. They carried messages to neighboring tribes, carried important news from house to house, controlled the weather. They could not marry, use bad words, or mock their fellow-tribesmen. Because of their restrictions and powers they were very highly esteemed, and their opinion was important enough to break a deadlock in the council.

The council appears to have had considerable power. They chose the chief, within the specified blood lines. This chief, according to Jones, had little actual power. He seems to have been a sort of executive officer for the council. How did the other councilors get their positions? About this we can only speculate. The peace chief, the war chief, the emeritus chief, and the executive chief were

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Law respecting strangers.—If a stranger from another tribe comes on a visit and asks for the dwelling of the chief, he is led to the chief's lodge. The chief entertains him. This is a sign that he can move about among the people with freedom and safety. If he is slain—that is, murdered—the people can make no complaint if the man's friends murder the chief. But if the stranger stops first with any other member of the tribe and is murdered before he is received by the chief, then there is no reparation to be had for him.

Control by ridicule.—In the battle between the Foxes and the Plain Indians there was one Indian who betook himself down the bluff behind which he sought shelter. This one Fox went far down where he was out of range of the bullets, and took his gun apart so that he might not have to take part in the fight. While the battle was going on the man was down there fixing his gun. Ever after the battle the man was called the gunsmith, not as a term of commendation but as a term of ridicule. It was thrown up at him on all occasions, and he had to take it without showing resentment.

Breaking of contractual obligations.—See data given for marriage, pp. 59–60.

Violation of mourning taboos.—It is held unlawful for a widower to cohabit with women during the period that he is in mourning for his deceased wife, or to marry again before an adoption ceremony has been held for her. A violation of the law brings upon him no direct punishment from tribe or gens or kin. His punishment is meted out to him in this form:

If he marries again before the adoption ceremony, women relatives of his former wife and other women go to his lodge and proceed to rip

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ex officio members of the council, but how did they get their office in the first place? Direct evidence is lacking here, but inferential material points consistently in one direction. The situation is probably to be linked up with the strong ritualization of Fox gentes. Michelson obtained some data bearing on this point. He was told that the kindly chief was not allowed to speak a cross word, nor was he permitted to kill anything, even an insect, while the war chief was licensed to behave arrogantly.

Perhaps the word "chief" has been too loosely used. It is highly probable that there were several chiefs differing in function and in ritualistic restrictions. The restrictions which the kindly chief had to observe, for instance, may be the explanation for the "refusal" of the chieftainship mentioned by Forsyth.

The nebulous material begins to take on a certain shape if considered in connection with social integration. It seems reasonably clear that each gens had certain responsibilities toward the tribe as a whole, certain services to be performed through definite ritual. It is hard to believe that each gens, or at least each gens of numerical importance, was not represented on the council. And it seems likely that these representatives would be picked in some way by the gens in question. In the case of the war gens and the sacred gens these representatives would also serve the tribe as a whole in a capacity related to the general gens function.

off the clothes from the person of his wife and to smash to pieces all the domestic property they can get at. Women enough go to overpower and pummel the husband the moment he tries to take his wife's part. The effect of such punishment is abject humiliation. To be set upon by a pack of angry women and to be thoroughly trounced by them make a stain which a man can never wipe out, however much he may thereafter conform to all the laws.

The law of the tribe lays down that a widow shall not have any relations whatever with men while she is in mourning for her dead husband. In the more innocent violations of the law, the penalty is a clip of flesh from off her ear; and should she cohabit or marry, the penalty can be death both for her and for the man with whom she broke the law.

Adultery.[38]—A woman's husband had died, and so according to custom she went into mourning for him. In due time came the ceremony of adoption which set free the soul of her husband and gave her the privilege of marrying again. No sooner was the ceremony done than there came to her father's lodge an unmarried brother-in-law of hers. He had come according to the spirit of the tribal law that gave him the right to take unto himself for wife a sister-in-law who had been made widow by the death of the brother. Nothing was left for the father but to give up his daughter for marriage, and nothing was left for the daughter but to take the brother-in-law for her husband.

A time was then set when the man would take the woman for wife, and the occasion was to be at her father's lodge. Accordingly came the man at the appointed time, and when he entered the lodge and took his seat at the place that had already been prepared for him he beheld good things to eat. The food was yet in the cooking vessels, and waiting only for the arrival of the prospective groom to be served out in vessels and eaten. The vessels—wooden bowls and wooden spoons—were in their places on the mat that was spread for the eating.

But he beheld no woman, not even a sign of her presence anywhere about. He waited and waited, and the longer he waited the more anxious for her he became. At last he inquired after her, and the father replied that she and her small brother had gone into the field, probably to fetch new corn, and that she had left word she would return anon.

The woman's absence became so heavy on his mind that at last he decided to go down to the field and find her if he could. He followed the tracks of the two people until he came upon the little brother.

[38] Formerly adultery on the part of the woman was punished by cutting off her ears, nose, or even killing her. A husband might kill her lover if the latter was caught red-handed. This is plentifully attested. See Forsyth, pp. 214–215; Cutting Marsh (1835), Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Colls., 15, p. 118, 1900; Wm. Jones, Fox Texts, Pub. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. I, pp. 142–144; T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 343.

The man asked the child where his sister was, and the reply was that she had gone off in a certain direction which was indicated by pointing with the finger.

He followed the direction for only a short distance when he came upon the woman cohabiting with a man. The woman's favorite escaped with his life only because he happened to be swifter of foot. And as for her she was shot with arrows until she was dead. The man slew her after the return from his pursuit.

Then up to the lodge he went and there told the father what he saw and what he had done. The father said nothing, but called for another daughter, the only one he had left, and really much too young to marry. He bade her rearrange the bed that the elder sister had made, and for her to brush it clean.

The little girl did as her father told her.

Then he commanded her once more, and this time it was for her to sit beside the man and in the place where the elder sister would have sat. In this, too, she also obeyed, and by the act she was made wife to the man.

The penalty for biting another's nose.—The penalty is death for a man to bite another's nose. The bitten has the privilege of meting out death to the biter. The privilege is not questioned, for it receives the sanction of gens and tribe. The biter may save himself from death if the ponies which he offers to the bitten are accepted by him. The ponies are considered as payment for the injury done the person. A refusal to accept the payment is a sign for the biter to be on guard for his life, for the bitten will slay him at the first opportune occasion. In case the biter in defense slays the bitten then the relatives of the latter take up the feud; and then nothing short of death to the biter is likely to end the affair.

Murder.[39]—There are two ways of treating a murderer. One is to have death meted out to him by the relatives of the person he killed. Should the relative be unable to slay him, then the gens of the murdered comes forward and sees that the murderer is slain. The second is to have him satisfy the relatives of the murdered with a gift of presents. The gift shall be considered of great value, and must contain ponies, for they are the principal element in the gift.

A man has killed his wife. The woman was of the Fox gens and it at once took up the feud. The gens informed the murderer to appear in the morning at their big lodge. The lodge was a summer bark

[39] Forsyth says that murder was usually commuted with gifts; if the relatives refused gifts, the chiefs ordinarily settled the matter. The murderer in some instances married the widow of the person he killed (*in* Blair, vol. 2, p. 187). Cutting Marsh remarked that they had no laws for the punishment of any crime, "even murder may be expiated by money or presents" (loc. cit., p. 118).

The belief existed that anyone who had committed murder would have a nosebleed when he came in where a sacred pack was. (See Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.)

lodge large enough for three or four fires. It was there that the gens held its sacred observances and deposited its religious keepsakes.

In the morning the murderer came as he was bidden. He took his place before the fire nearest the front entryway and there he squatted, silent and with head bowed.

By and by the lodge began to fill up with men of the Fox gens, many of them relatives of the slain woman. They were painted red over the face and body.[40] Two raised platforms ran the length of the lodge, one on each side. Upon one of these sat the men side by side, forming an unbroken line from the front entryway to the rear entryway. At the far end of the line and within the rear entryway stood one of the men with a small "squaw-ax" in his hand. He was the executioner, and he was to kill the man by caving in the back of his head with the ax. The ax, too, was painted red.

The men never spoke and all was silent in the lodge. Presently the man at the head of the line, the one nearest the front entryway, nudged his thumb into the hip of the man at his side. The next man passed the nudge on to the man beyond and then on and on it went until suddenly it stopped somewhere. While the men glanced inquiringly into the faces of one another, one of them slid off the platform. This man's place was about the center of the line and he was the last man nudged.

He walked over to the place where the murderer sat squatting and placed a new blanket over his shoulders. Then taking the murderer by the hand he led him to the vacant platform opposite the one that was lined with men, and there left him.

The murderer sat down there on the platform. Presently the gens began to break up and it was not long before they were all departing homeward. In a little while came relatives of the murderer bringing with them ponies and presents for the relatives of the murdered woman.

Passing the nudge from man to man was as good as saying, "I think the man ought to be killed for the murder of his wife. If you agree with me nudge the other man." Only a unanimous vote could bring about the death of the man and so the act of one man in stopping the passing nudge was the same as saying, "The man shall not be killed for the murder of his wife." And the putting of the new blanket over his shoulders and raising him up on his feet and leading him over to the raised platform where he could sit down and face the gens all meant that the murderer would be allowed to pay for his crime with a gift. And the acceptance of the ponies and other presents on the part of the murdered woman's relatives put an end to the blood feud between the murderer and the gens of the murdered.[41]

[40] Red was the special paint of the Fox gens.

[41] It is not possible to make an analysis of social control among the Foxes from the available data. Not only are the data on crime and punishment scanty, but we

CEREMONIES AND GAMES

THE SACRED FEAST

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE KĪGÄNŌ, OR SACRED FEAST

One kind is held during the fall, winter, or spring. A man kills a deer and he decides to pray. Say he is an Eagle. He makes it known to a number of other Eagles that he is going to pray. These other

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have no adequate knowledge of the political situation, basic to the problem. Some additional information bearing on the general question, and particularly some interesting notes on their ethical standards, are to be found scattered through the literature, and that material is presented here.

From information scattered through Michelson's publications, notably Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., and Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 81, 307, 311, and 607, we find that Fox girls were to be industrious, Fox boys to fast earnestly, and the young people of both standards were enjoined to live quietly, treat the aged well, be generous, not steal, not say things against other people, and not be cross. A special point is made that a man who knows nothing of the nature of a woman, and a woman who knows nothing of the nature of a man, are the ones the manitou thinks most highly of; but only those ambitious for unusual spiritual powers heeded this.

Keating has recorded a very interesting conversation on ethical standards which he had with his guide, a Sauk, in his book Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, etc., Phila., 1824, pp. 219–224. Keating asked his guide, Wennebea, the son of a Sauk chief, what constituted a good man. Wennebea said a good man was mild, affable (particularly to his squaw), hospitable, not quarrelsome when intoxicated; he should divide presents given him, and should keep as many wives as he could support, as this would mean he could extend more hospitality. (Keating questioned him about the kind of hospitality he had in mind and found that he definitely did not mean offering squaws to strangers.) The good man should also give frequent feasts and sacrifices, and should expose the skins of white deer on trees. In these cases the man himself should never eat, but his friends should eat everything up with the exception of a small part which was thrown in the fire. It was the duty of men to hunt, fight, build lodges, dig canoes, take care of the horses, make wooden spoons, etc. The women were to hew wood, carry water, plant and raise corn, take care of their families, and in the absence of the men, attend to the horses, build the lodges, etc. Women should be obedient and affectionate to their husbands, kind to all children and partial to none, affable and courteous to all men, though avoiding familiarity. They should be inviolably chaste and industrious. In selecting wives beauty was less important than goodness.

A statement on ethical standards was recently obtained from Young Bear, eldest son of the late Fox chief (Annals of Iowa, 19, pp. 221–234, 1934):

"As I remember in early childhood, the right and wrong was taught to me by my parents. They showed me what was right and what was wrong. They taught me not to do what was bad, and so one of these things was not to take the things that belonged to someone else. Stealing has been taught to us as being one of the worst evils to be done by anyone, and the life that is taught to us is that if anyone takes the road that is not right he will not have life—he will not live long—but the one who keeps his life clean will live long and will be looked upon by the Great Spirit.

Eagles bring food, some maple sugar, some pumpkin, some corn, etc. The prayer is held during the day, beginning in the morning.

Mamecihagi, waiters, come to the lodge of the Eagle who is getting up the Kīgänō, and prepare the food for the invited. This Eagle then sends out one mameciha to invite members outside of the Eagle gens to come to the feast. If there are eight pieces of meat in one wooden

"Kindness is another thing that is taught to us—to be kind to all living things; to be kind to the poor, and to be kind to everyone, and so if we see anyone who is old and feeble and tottering along we should not laugh, we should not mock him; if we see anyone crippled, we should not say anything, but favor him and feel kind toward him.

"To make friends wherever we go is another thing. We were taught to respect everyone and to be friendly, and so one of the things that is taught to us is to be free with everything that we have. In those days food was regarded as one of the greatest gifts anyone could give; and so the food, if we have food, if we have plenty we should not think only of ourselves, but of our people first, and so we should give, give, and always give as much as we can. If we see anyone, if we see old people in a lodge by themselves, having a hard time, we should go over with food and enter their lodge. We should give them the things that will make them comfortable. And so the custom was, in the old days, that whenever a family is sick and cannot get their own food and cannot make their own things, that it was up to the people to help them, not for pay, but just kindness, to help one another. If the old people live in a house by themselves, they should be helped. And so it was the duty of every young man who was able to do anything, it was to help the old people and give them food or whatever they needed. In this way the Great Spirit blesses the young people, and it is because of this they live long. Why is it that a young man helps his old people? It is because the thing that has been taught to us is that the Great Spirit blesses and makes those young people live long, those who help the old people. The old people when they live to be of old age, they do not live to an old age because they have taken care of themselves, but they are blessed by the Great Spirit, and so the young men who help them are those blessed by the Great Spirit.

"We should not say things that are not so. To lie to one another is an evil thing, and we should not lie to one another, and when we say the things that are true we should not be ashamed to tell one another the truth. Be true to one another, be true to your friends, be true to everyone, because the one who lies is not the one who is looked upon by the Great Spirit, but truth is the thing that the Great Spirit wishes to have, and he blesses the children who tell the truth."

Michelson found that the Foxes distinguish between vice (mAᵈtcimīnA'kyäweni) and sin (ne 'ciwAnātAnō 'kyäweni). See Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 56, and Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 17.

Vices: Beating a woman, poisoning, murder. *Sins:* Incest, giving girls strong drink, child abandonment, stealing, desecrating a sacred pack, singing sacred songs flippantly, courting women unreleased from death ceremonies, violation of pregnancy taboos, refusal by a woman to marry the widower of her deceased sister.

Rape and adultery, though not mentioned, would undoubtedly come under the heading of vice, since there was no concept of supernatural punishment. Rape seems to have been very nearly nonexistent.

Wife beating is not common among the Foxes, but occurs sporadically. Relatives do not interfere, but take the attitude that if the couple are left alone they will come out all right (Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, vol. 2, p. 215; Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 242–243, 1924).

bowl, the mameciha holds eight stems in his hand. He invites until eight persons have been invited to the feast.

When the invited appear they find the Eagles waiting for them. If the kīgänō is held in a winter lodge the Eagles are seated at one end. In front of them are spread out the medicine rolls or bags, called micamani. The Eagles sit and drum the air slowly with cicikwanani, gourd rattles, and chant songs.

Before the first singing and while the food is cooking in the kettles, the Eagles say to themselves to which spirit the food is sacrificed. One will take a pinch of tobacco from a knot and say: "This maple sugar and this pumpkin are for the Buffalo. This dog is for Wīsa'kä. This food is for Night, and this is for Sun." The sprinkling of tobacco accompanies the mentioning of each spirit's name. Then six or eight songs are sung. This is followed by a period of silence. Again there is another singing of the same songs as before. About this time the food in the kettles begins to be done. As the food gets done the kettles are raised. The Eagle who is in charge of the kīgänō then tells a waiter that there are so many sticks for that kettle and that he go out and invite as many people as there are sticks. The same thing is done for the other kettles. As the second song begins the people then begin to eat.

All the food must be eaten before the fourth singing begins. Before this singing begins someone of the invited rises to his feet and prays thankfulness for the food. After the fourth singing the people disperse to their lodges. Then the Eagles go and eat of food that is cooked for them by their families at their homes. It is their first meal since the one they had in the morning before going to the feast.

In the summer time the kīgänō is held in the summer bark lodges.

Restrictions against intragens marriages have now relaxed but were formerly rigid. Whoever even thinks of marrying within the gens "is indeed shattering his life" (Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 149).

Stealing is rare. Michelson has heard of but one case in the last 20 years. Forsyth remarked that the Indians were not thievish, except in the case of horses (loc. cit., p. 187). Stealing horses, particularly picketed horses, counted among the war honors. Otherwise the Fox attitude toward stealing was that if anyone were to take to stealing he would always be in want (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 571, 1924).

"In the case of civil injuries appeal is made to the old people of both parties who are generally acceded to" (Forsyth, loc. cit., p. 186).

Children were carefully watched, and if they did anything that was not right, or broke any rules, they were made to fast from one to several days. Children were instructed by their parents, but it was recognized that certain men knew more than the rest about some subjects, like hunting or religion, and these men would call all the children together for an evening and instruct them (Annals of Iowa, 19, pp. 120–125, 1933).

This kīgänō is very much the same as the other except that in this case there is dancing.[42]

A leader is chosen for the dance. He is given certain things from a micami to decorate himself with. He is given a fife and certain other things from the roll.

He selects usually a young woman to follow him in the dance. The woman must be of his gens. She also wears something from the micami.

It is unlawful to walk across the place where the medicine rolls lie.

Some singings take 2 hours. Each gens has its own songs, and a member of one gens may not know the ceremonial songs of another. It may be improper for him to ask information regarding songs of another gens.

All the dances are pretty much the same.

The leader blows a fife at the change from an old to a new song.

There are four dances, and all the food must be eaten before the last dance begins.

FEASTS OF THANKSGIVING

Just as soon as the corn is ripe enough to eat the different gentes begin to hold gatherings to which members of other gentes are invited. These services are religious, preparatory to the thanksgiving dance. Each gens holds two services (?—W. J.) and when every gens has finished the dance is held.

New corn is gathered and prepared during the day. A dog is killed and also fixed up for eating. They now use dog to make up for the lack of deer, turkey, and other wild game.[43] Invitations are

[42] Michelson has repeatedly called attention to the essential uniformity of Fox gens festivals. (See particularly his Note on Fox Gens Festivals, Proc. 23d Int. Cong. Amer., pp. 545–546, 1928.) It seems probable that with more complete information significant differences in festivals would also appear. Even now separate threads can be disentangled. For example, Michelson's accounts of Fox gens festivals (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., and Bulls. 72, 85, 87, 89, 95, and 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn.) show that the feature of eating sugar from bowls without using the hands, and overturning the bowls with the nose occurs in all the gens festivals in worship of the buffalo, and in no others. Also, although positive information is sometimes lacking, the fast-eating contest is not a constant feature, and it is noteworthy that it is not reported for any of the buffalo festivals. (See Appendix D.)

[43] This is interesting if it can be relied on. Rideout's little book, William Jones, brings out that Jones had a horror of eating dog, and his informants may have felt a need of explaining away the custom. On the other hand there is good reason to believe that the eating of dog was not always associated with all types of Algonquian sacred feasts. Perrot describes bundle feasts at which dog was eaten (tribe not specified, although presumably the Ottawa; the time was between 1665 and 1699), of which he says: "Feasts of this sort are usually made only on

sent out to a few to come and eat, not for their bodies' good, but to please Manetowa. No one comes except the invited. The inviting gens does not eat, but does the praying of thanksgiving to the manitou for his goodness in giving them corn, etc. These men who pray sit on the south side on the raised platform, and with gourd rattles in their hands begin to sing in monotone a prayer or lamentation to invoke the presence of the manitou.

Between the fire and the west center pole of the house is spread the manetowa. This is the medicine bag, opened only during religious services. Often a To'kan and Kicko stand one on the south and one on the north side of this manetowa. They stand there all night, and their only walking is a step or two toward the fire or to pots where the food for feasting is.

The invited guests assemble about the corn and dog down on the ground in the center of the bark house. The Kickos are seated on one side and the To'kans on the other. When the singing is done then the invited eat until the singing begins again. The feasting is often a rivalry between the To'kans and Kickos, who endeavor to outdo each other in rapidity, completeness, and skill in putting away what is placed before them to eat.

These services are purely religious and no one ought to come unless invited. Should a member of the gens that is inviting accompany anyone else to the eating he would be stopped and compelled to come up where his gens is praying.

Sometimes this service begins early in the morning and lasts until late in the evening. Often it begins after sundown and lasts until late in the night. There is first the song of lamentation to invoke the presence of manetowa, then the eating, and then the song again. There is smoking when there are intervals for song. Tobacco is pleasing to the manetowa, and so it is used. These services are similar in character to the feeding of the dead at evening.

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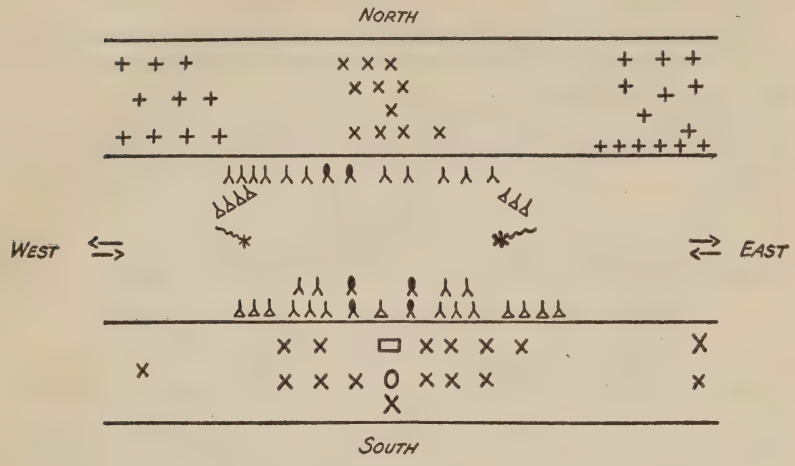
the occasion of a war, or of other enterprises in which they engage when on expeditions against their enemies" (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, I, p. 54).

Dog feasts in connection with sacred packs are known to have occurred among the Iowa, Kickapoo, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, and Winnebago. (See Michelson, Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 8.) The Arikara, Cree, Dakota, Huron, Illinois, Iroquois, Miami, and Skidi Pawnee are known to have dog feasts, but whether or not in connection with sacred bundles is not known. The Omaha and Osage had bundle feasts at which dog was not eaten. From this Michelson concludes that "Owing to the geographical distributions of dog feasts and feasts connected with the sacred packs it is plausible that the Fox gens festivals (and similarly the Iowa, etc.) are essentially fusions of both of these." (For discussion see Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 8–9.)

NOTES ON GENS FEAST DANCES [44]

BEAR FEAST DANCE [45]



EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM

⇆	East and west are entrances and exits.
+++	North are women seated looking at the dancers.
XXX	North are seated men watching the dancing.
X	X is the drummer (Chief Pacitonigwa in this case).
0	The drum.
XXX	South, seated either side of the drummer are singers with gourd rattles; these face the north.
XXXXX	South, in front of the singers; also rattle gourds; these have their backs to the north.
▭	An old man. He does not sing.
Xx	East of the rattlers and singers. Two old men. X prays during intermission, and stands and dances during the singing and dancing.
	Head men of the tribe who lead in the dancing.
	Younger men and boys.
	Dancing women.
	The fire where the dog meat, corn, etc., is being warmed.
	The burning incense.

Platforms on both north and south sides are used for places to eat during the intermission. This intermission lasts about 20 minutes and the dancing continues about as long, perhaps longer.

[44] There was formerly a rigid order in which feasts were held: Bear, Wolf, Thunder, Fox, Eagle. (Michelson, Amer. Anthrop. 15 (n. s.), pp. 691–693, 1913.)

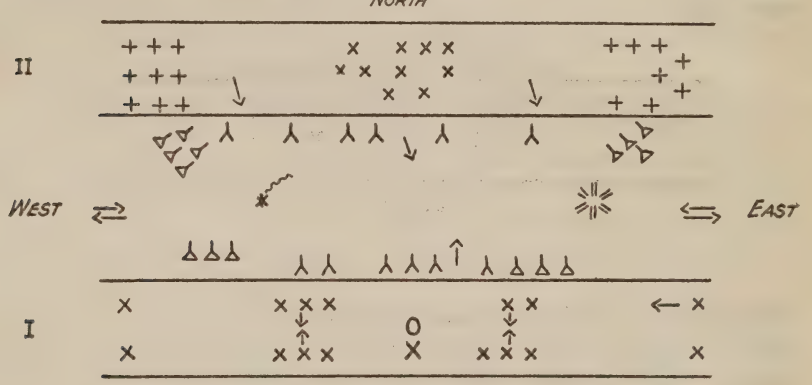
[45] Michelson has published on the following festivals owned by the Bear gens: Sagimakwäwa pack. (Chieftain woman; an otter. The great gens festival of the

The dancing closes by two men untying the sticks that keep the drumhead tight, the drummer keeping up his beating until the drum is carried away.

Then incense is taken from a wrapped piece of deer hide and put over a few live coals. When the smoke rises and the incense is about gone, the dance breaks up.

The people—men, women, boys, and girls—are dressed in thoroughly Indian costume. Nothing is worn that savors of white man's clothing.

FOX FEAST DANCE [46]



EXPLANATION OF DIAGRAM

+	Women seated.
X	Men seated.
⅄	Women dancing.
⅄	Men dancing.
X	Drummer.
O	Drum.
XX	South side, facing west, probably praying Indians.
	Fire.
	Incense.
I	Platform on which the 11 gourd rattlers are seated.

The dancers on the south side are painted with white paint and are called Kickos. They face the north. Those on the north side are painted in blue and black and are called Oskacihas. They face the Kickos.

Bear gens, formerly in the keeping of Pacitonigwa (Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 117–159).

Thunder dance (Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn.).

Buffalo dance (Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–41).

Wâpanōwiweni (bird dance, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn.).

[46] Michelson has published on the following festivals owned by the Fox or War Chief gens:

Owl Sacred Pack (Bull. 72, Bur. Amer. Ethn.).

White Buffalo Dance (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 37–289).

There is first a slow time kept with the gourd rattles, then in about 10 minutes a low monotone singing starts up which lasts about 10 minutes. Then the singing becomes louder and then the drum begins. In about 5 minutes they begin dancing, each side whooping. The women sing and dance (?—W. J.). The dancing lasts about half an hour. Then during a 10-minute intermission, through most of which the low monotone singing continues, the Indians feast. At this feast they eat turkey, chicken, pork, and everything that a fox likes. No dog is eaten.[47]

No one enters except those who are invited. White people are not wanted to look in through the door and cracks during dancing and feasting. Dancing and feasting begins about 7 a. m. and closes at about 6 p. m.

WOLF FEAST DANCE

This dance is danced within doors, that is in the summer bark house. Those come who are invited, and dance and feast all day long. The dance begins about 9 a. m. and ends about 6 or 7 p. m. During this time there are four dances. Each dance is followed by an intermission during which the feasting takes place. Dog is the principal thing eaten.[48] It is the offering made to Manetowa to invoke his pleasure and presence at the dance. There is also the boiled corn which is also food pleasing to Manetowa. The feasting lasts as long as the dancing. Everyone brings his wooden bowl and wooden spoon to eat with. The people sit about on the raised platforms to eat as in the Bear, Fox, and Buffalo dances. As in those feast dances, the food is served from the east end, and passed along to the south, then to the west, and then to those on the north, and finally to those on the east end north of the entrance.

No one comes in the dance, or at least no one is expected to come in unless he comes with the thought of coming into the presence of Manetowa. There is an atmosphere of sacredness to the dancing and feasting. There may be smiles but there is no hilarious laughing. There is no rushing in and out. All enter slowly and silently. Each one comes into the house with the thought of feeling the presence of some divine being. The wawaneskaichig (a word used with various shades of meaning denoting something that may be slightly wrong to something that may be extremely bad; but in this case it is used with a meaning that approaches the English word "wicked." There is an idea in it that very strongly approaches the word "sinners." It may be understood more clearly by showing what its opposite means, that

[47] Dog is mentioned as one of the foods at the Owl Sacred Pack ceremony.

[48] This is contrary to Michelson's findings. He says dog is not eaten at Wolf festivals, nor at the War Chief (Fox) dance in worship of the wolf, the Indians saying that the dog and wolf are too closely allied physically (Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 9 and footnote).

is, those who enter. Those who go in are those who don't show or feel any repentance for some evil deed they have done, but they enter feeling that they must do nothing wrong or feel an evil intent toward another. They go in feeling the presence of a being whom they must in no way anger, hence nothing is done that would bring violence or fear to anyone) do not enter.[49]

The dancing is done in an oblong ring, the dancers going to the east, then north, then west, then south, then east again. There is a man leader who carries in his hand a sort of fife which he blows at certain stages in the dance, and he also uses it to announce to those feasting that they should get ready to put away their spoons and bowls, for the dancing is soon to begin. Behind him comes a woman; then behind her another man with a fife; behind these the dancers go in pairs or one by one as they please. Behind the second man with the fife come other men, and behind these men come the women, who are divided into two groups. The woman who heads the second group joins in the singing once in a while. Everybody dresses in purely Indian costume. The women dress more beautifully than the men. It seems to be a dance more for women than for men.

The music is made by the one drummer seated on the south side of the summer house. On each side of him are four or five who sing

[49] Scattered through Michelson's Mythical Origin of the White Buffalo Dance (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 37–289) are comments on how sacred packs were worshipped in the past, from which we gather that men were to go swimming before sunrise on the day of the festival. The singing should begin at sunrise, and the festival should be over before the sun went down. Those attending must have only kind thoughts about others. There should be no laughing or flirtatious conduct.

Dancing was to be kept up as long as the dancing songs were sung. Dancers were to look straight ahead, and were not allowed to fan themselves, to smoke, or to drink water while dancing.

The drummer was not to go out all day long. He could not speak or be spoken to.

Songs were to be sung wailingly, not sportively; they were always to be sung in the same order, and they must be sung loudly so the manitou would hear. Food must be eaten carefully, and not dropped.

Men were to sit quietly upright; leaning was not allowed, nor could they move their feet, even if their feet went to sleep. If this should happen, only members of the gens giving the festival could rub their muscles down (this did not apply to dancers). It was the sign of an evil heart if a man went to sleep or had to get up while the festival was going on. No one was to touch his hair, particularly ceremonial attendants.

Ceremonial attendants should wear only breechcloths, and go barefooted. They were to stand while eating. If one sat down to eat he was considered a berdache. They were not to turn burning wood, but to stir the fire slowly and carefully.

The sacred pack was to be hung half the height of the wickiup. In the house where it was hung fire was to be handled gently, never spat upon, nor should bones be burned there, only Indian tobacco and evergreen-tree wood.

with him with gourd rattles in their hands. In front of them to the right of the drummer are two or three who sing and use the gourd rattles.

The two men announce with their fifes that the dance is to begin. The men with the gourds then start up a prayer slowly sung in monotone, and keeping time with the gourds. This lasts for fully 5 minutes and often longer. The song is pathetic: it comes near to being a lamentation. When the singers and all in the house are thoroughly taken with this feeling that the prayer calls for, then the drum starts up and soon after the dancing. The men dancing often send up a whoop. The men who do not dance, and who remain on the platforms, seated, either smoke or chew tobacco. Some of the women chew tobacco, but do not smoke. The use of tobacco forms part of the rites to invoke Manetowa.

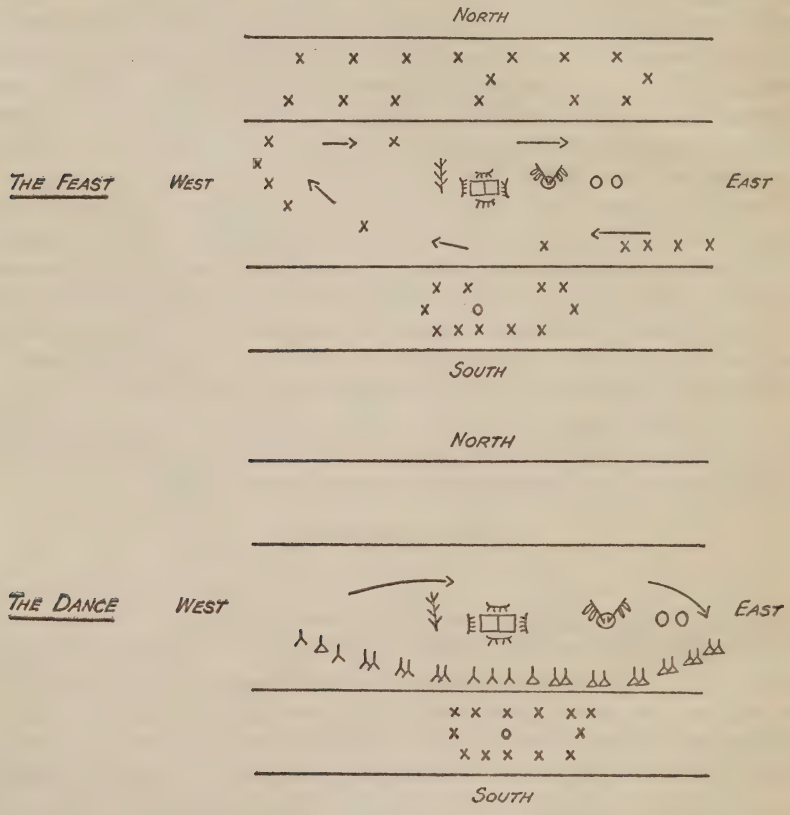
The men dance by simply raising one foot about 3 inches at the most from the ground, and then following with the other, keeping time with the slow singing of the prayer. The dancing of the women is prettier, and really attractive when well done. It is very much like the little jumps birds make when on the ground. The little jumps are but a few inches (3 at the most ?—W. J.) and there are usually about two leaps to the raising of a man's foot. Men hold their arms as one would when running, i. e., elbows at the waist and fists out, and they shoot out alternately. The women hold their arms straight down in front, but the hands do not touch each other.

EAGLE FEAST DANCE

The arrangement of the bark house is east and west. On the south and north sides of the interior are the raised platforms. On the south side sit the Eagles, who sing their songs of prayer. They number about 10 or 12. On the north side sit the invited guests, who smoke or look on during the dancing, and eat of the feast when the dancing stops. The space between the north and south platforms is where the dancing takes place. A little way in from the east entrance are the kettles containing what is to be eaten at the feast. Farther in is a vessel holding two pipes with long stems from which hang eagle feathers, the emblem of the Eagles. Beyond these pipes are spread the micami (medicine bags of the Eagle in whose house the dance is held). Four small dogs lie dead about the micami; one lies on the east, one on the west, one on the south, and one on the north sides of the micami. Beyond this stands a fullgrown stalk of Indian corn. The Eagles do not dance; the invited guests do that.

About 7 o'clock in the morning the Eagles who are to sing and pray meet in the house where the dance is to be held and begin to shake their gourd rattles in slow unison for almost an hour; then they begin

to sing their songs of prayer. This lasts for almost an hour, during which time the feasting goes on. After this comes the dancing, for which a different kind of song is sung. The drum starts up when the dancing begins. There is a man who leads the dancing, dressed in breechcloth and moccasins, painted, and with a fife in his hand which he uses to announce when the dancing is to begin. In place of a feather in his head he has a corn tassel. This man leads the dancing.



After him comes a woman, beautifully dressed. After her is another man who dances alone. After him come men dancing in twos, and then come women and children, and then women again, who usually dance in twos, though some of them come along singly.

This program—rattling of gourds, singing and feasting, and then dancing—is repeated four times during the day.

THUNDER FEAST DANCE [50]

Their feast is a fair representation of the feasts of other gentes. The service is held in the bark house of some Thunder about the time of the ripening of corn. Here the Thunder gens assembles and feasts all day long, inviting as many as they want to come and eat with them. On the south side of the interior of the bark house and on the raised platforms sit members of other gentes who sing and pray and use the gourd rattles all the day long while the Thunders feast. There are four periods of the use of the gourds followed by songs of prayer, after which comes the feasting of the Thunders.[51]

Their dance is similar to that of the other gentes in general. One characteristic is the clear short whooping. More women than usual dance. A member of the Fox gens sent out the invitation, and a member of the same gens led the dance at the feast. This man wore a buffalo headdress over his head.

FEAST TO THE SPIRIT OF SICKNESS

A sacred feast is often held for him so that he may not bring sickness. He has the power of granting long life. He stays around where sickness is prevalent. He is a manitou.

Once a Winnebago [52] is said to have had the power of driving him out of the lodges when the people were dying with smallpox. He rode a white horse, painted it green, and decked it out gaily. He would run toward a house, yell at the spirit within, and strike against the lodge. This he did to drive out the spirit. For this he got many gifts.

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[50] Michelson has published on the following festivals owned by the Thunder gens:

Nighthawk ceremony (Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 97–116).
Buffalo-head dance (Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn.).
Worship of the Thunderers (Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 43–183).
Kwiyamäa's war bundle. Sauk in origin. This bundle was taken to war against the Comanches in 1854 (Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 51–96).
Lucy Lasley's pack. Potawatomi in origin (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 504).

[51] If this feast is representative of sacred feasts in general, this account is slightly inaccurate. Probably the guests sit on the north rather than on the south, and the Thunder gens members do not themselves eat until the ceremony is over. Michelson's account of the Buffalo-head dance bears this out.

[52] Disease-giver or Disease-maker was the most sacred of all the Winnebago spirits. (See Radin, Thirty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 530–534.)

BUFFALO FEASTS [53]

Before the run—Before a run is made on the buffalo all the camps make each a sacred feast to the buffalo. The food sacrificed to the buffalo must be pumpkin or corn or maple sugar; always sugar together with the other two if possible.[54] Dog or any other kind of meat is not used in the sacrifice.[55] This feast is made as soon as the hunters know they are in the vicinity of buffalo.

Nenuswika'tcikäwagi, they give a sacred feast to the buffalo; a term used of a gens that is giving a feast to the buffalo.

In the dance the men and women imitate the run and movement of the buffalo when in flight.

[53] The Foxes have a number of different buffalo feasts, concerning the origin and function of which we can say little at present. There can be no doubt, however, that Siouan influence was important.

In the Buffalo Dance of the Bear gens the women whose husbands were Bears were invited as a group, and one of these women addressed the Bear men as follows: "Take a good look at us, for you surely have been in love with us." (T. Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 23.) This makes it appear probable that this particular feast was for the magical reproduction of the buffalo herds. The Winnebago have a buffalo dance which they give in the spring for the magical calling of buffalo. (See Radin, Thirty-seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.)

Michelson has published on the following buffalo feasts:

White Buffalo Dance. Held by the War Chief gens (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 37–289, 1925).

Worship of the spotted Buffalo Calf. See also Dance of the Mowitihagi (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 497–539, 1925).

Buffalo Rite, owned by the Society of Those Named after the Buffalo. Membership in this society cut across gens lines, in which it resembled the spring buffalo dance of the Winnebago (brief mention in Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 6, 21, 1928).

Buffalo-Head Dance of the Thunder Gens (Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1928).

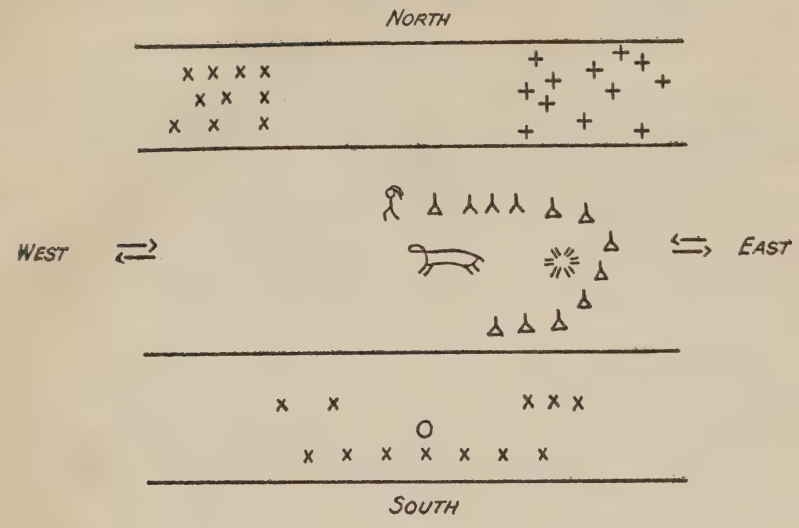
Buffalo Dance of the Bear Gens (Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–41, 1930).

Worship of Buffalo and Wapanowi Birds. Held by Swan gens (Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 5–12, 1932).

[54] The white buffalo was particularly fond of pumpkins and corn dumplings (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 251).

[55] This is unusual, and should probably be taken as applying only to the feasts made while the hunt was in progress. At any rate, in the description of the buffalo dance, just below, Jones says dog was eaten, and no prohibition of dog or other meat is to be found in Michelson's publications. In the account of the food cooked for the white buffalo worship we find: "Then simply any kind of meat; then ducks, turkeys, prairie hens, grouse, and all different kinds of those that fly. * * * deer, bears, elks, badgers and skunks; * * * now dogs * * * (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 25).

BUFFALO DANCE [56]



XX MEN SEATED
++ WOMEN SEATED

The singing is done by the man who beats the drum and the 10 or 12 men seated about him who rattle their gourds. The women at times join in the singing.

The leader in the dance has his head covered with a buffalo mane. Behind is a woman, and behind her are men, and then come women.

Dog, corn, and pumpkin are eaten at this dance. Over the fire hang the kettles with dog and other things to eat in them. West of the fire is a dead dog whose head is pointed to the west. The dogs are killed during the evening before the dance. They are usually strangled,[57] and a big fire is made over which the hair of the dogs is singed off.

When dancing is going on, the entrance is opened, but during the

[56] Forsyth says, "In dancing the buffalow-dance, they are dressed with the pate of a buffalow skin with the horns, they imitate the buffalow by throwing themselves into different postures, also by mimicking his groans, attempting to horn each other, keeping exact time with the drum, the women often join in these dances, but remain nearly in the same spot (while dancing) and singing in a shrill voice above the men" (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 230–231).

[57] Dogs were sometimes clubbed to death instead of being strangled. See Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 39–40, for the experience of one of Michelson's informants in killing dogs ceremonially. Dogs should not be hurt nor bloodied in the killing. But in the old days when there were warriors to kill the dogs, those restrictions did not hold. "Surely they [warriors] must have smashed the heads of their foes. And that is why they were not restricted from making them yelp when they struck them, and it is why they were not restricted from making them very bloody" (Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 11).

intermission when eating is going on the entrance is closed to those who are looking in. White men are not admitted.

DANCE OF THE MOWITIHAGI [58]

Account A.—A small buffalo is kept in a medicine bag. It looks exactly like a real buffalo. It is like stone as if made of earth. Its existence came about in this manner.

A certain man, one of the Blacks [a To'kan], went out to fast. He fasted 4 days, and on the fourth day he had a dream. In the dream appeared the vision of the buffalo. When the dream was all over, the first thing he saw was this animal. It may have been wounded and so was left in his way, for one of its hind legs was broken up near the joint in the hip.

The Black took the animal home. He wrapped it in the medicine bag, and there it has been to this day. All of this happened long ago. Now the strangest part of it all is that the crippled hip is now all healed. How it came so no one knows, for a manitou brought about the healing.

The buffalo is brought out now at the dance. It is placed between two fires, halfway between them.

Account B.—A distinguishing feature of this dance is the presence of a red-stone buffalo bull. It is small, being probably about 8 or 10 inches long and 6 or 7 inches high. It has horns, tail, legs, testicles—in every way the image of a buffalo bull. It is said to be alive, and to be a manitou. It is kept in a medicine bag and is the property of the Mowitihagi. In the dance tobacco is offered to it.

[58] "Dirty Little Ani." Otherwise known as "Those Who Worship the Spotted Buffalo Calf" (KätAginenu'sō 'ani Mämätomā^{d}tcig^{kl}'). This is their name for the domestic cattle. Many but by no means all of the members of this society belong to the Thunder gens. Analysis of the membership list A given by Michelson (Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 505) produces the following result:

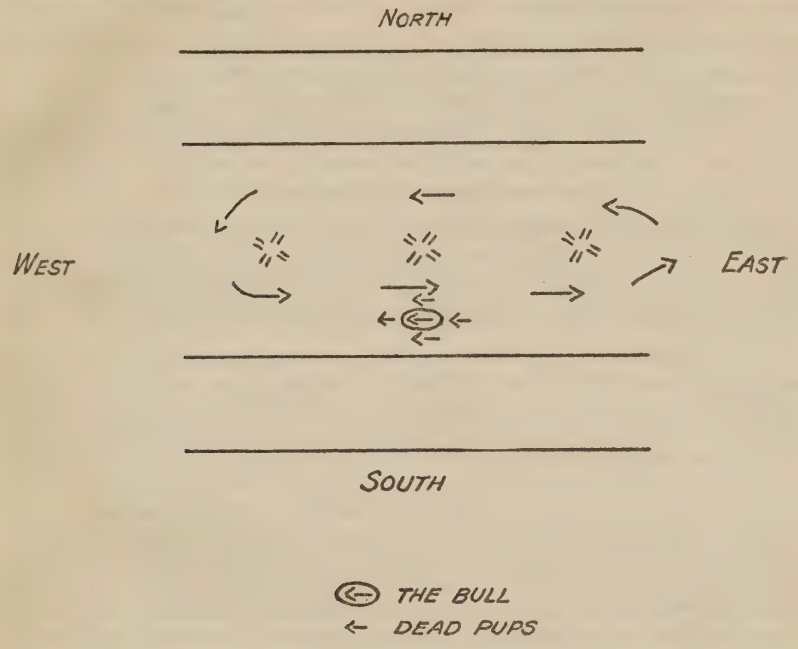
Gens not known	4
Thunder	12
Bear	4
Wolf	3
War Chief	2
Fish	1
Total	26

This is an important society, and it ranks with the gentes in some of the buffalo ceremonies, at least. (See specifically Bull. 87, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 29, 53; Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 3, 19.)

Skinner mentions a buffalo dance (Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, pp. 48–49, 1923) from which it would appear that a similar society occurs among the Sauk. As a matter of fact, the ownership of the sacred pack belonging to this society can be traced back in the Peters family (who are of Sauk descent) to a time before they joined forces with the Foxes. Other indications of Sauk origin can be found: one of the gentes given a place of honor is presumably Sauk and not Fox; and some of the songs are identical with those occurring among the Sauk of Oklahoma in a different ceremony. (See Notes on the Fox Society Known as Those Who Worship

It is said that once its neck was broken.[59] The two pieces were put together and the thing placed back into a medicine bag. When this bag was again opened there were no signs of where the break had been. The image was as if whole and unbroken. It is for this reason held to be very manitou.

It is brought out twice a year in the sacred feast of the Mowitihagi.



The bull. It stands on a small, oval-shaped earthen mound.

Dead pups, with red strings tied around their necks. Under the neck of each pup is a bit of medicine tobacco. The pups are killed and put there.

The people sprinkle tobacco on the bull, and in doing so they enter the east door of the bark lodge, pass around by way of the north, west, and then come by way of the south. They stop long enough to sprinkle the tobacco and then pass out. They pass between the bull and the fire.

the Little Spotted Buffalo, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 497–539, 1925.) But though this society can be considered to have been of Sauk origin, in ceremonial procedure and origin myth it conforms to the general Fox pattern.

[59] It will be noted that the two informants do not agree as to where the image was broken. This makes what Sam Peters has to say on the subject all the more interesting: "Some are in the habit of saying that he (the stone buffalo) is completely constructed. Yet it is not so. This is how that buffalo is: Two feet are broken off. Now there are two (remaining). When the four legs are broken off, that will be as far as this earth exists, I have often heard those who take care of it say, and (it has been so) from the time when the one blessed died down to the present. * * * This is how I observed them * * * I used to serve as a ceremonial attendant" (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 513).

OTHER CEREMONIES

THE MIDEWIWIN [60]

Account A.—We no longer practice the midewiwin. We do not like it because it is not real. Take for instance when one shoots magic into another. The one who is shot falls and acts as if he is made powerless. It is all a sham; there is nothing in it, and the man who is shot with magic simply feigns. Among us are three or four old people who are members of the society. All the others are dead.

Account B.—Long ago when the Foxes used to dance the Mita, many people would die. Those who would die so fast were the biggest men in the tribe,[61] and only the unworthy would live. The Foxes knew then that Manetowa was not pleased with this Mita, so they got all the Mitawog together one time in their lodge, and men were placed about the house so that none could get away. The Foxes told these Mitawog that this dance must not go on any more because Manetowa was not pleased with it, and that every time they danced, not only

[60] Forsyth has this to say about the Midewiwin as celebrated in 1826: "The medicine dance or Mit-tee-wee, all those who belong to that fraternity, are made acquainted by some of the head persons, that on a certain day, the whole will assemble at a particular place; on the day appointed they make a shade, both males and females make their best appearance, they have two drums on the occasion, the business is opened with a prayer from one of the members, after which the drummers sing a doleful ditty, beating at same time on their drums, each person male and female are provided with a sac or pouch of the whole skin of some animal as the raccoon, mink, marten, fisher, and otter, but generally of the last mentioned; one of the elders gets up and commences dancing round the inside of the lodge, another follows, and so on until they are all in motion, as they pass by each other, they point the nose of the sacs or pouches at each other blowing a whiff at the same time, the person so pointed at, will fall down on the ground apparently in pain, and immediately get up again and touch some other one in turn, who will do the same in succession, etc." (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 230–231).

Forsyth also mentions another society of Great Medicine men, about which he could find out practically nothing, except that there were four roads or degrees, that "it requires to do something to gain the first road, and so on to the second, third, fourth roads or degrees. It costs an Indian from 40 to 50 dollars in goods, or other articles to be initiated or admitted into this society, and am told there are but few of them who can gain the end of the fourth road." To gain admittance an Indian had a friend who was a member vouch for him. If the society decided to admit him, this friend was directed to prepare him "but what the preparation, etc., is, I never could find out, but no Indian can be admitted until the expiration of 1 year, after application is made" (ibid., pp. 223–225).

[61] Michelson was also told that the Foxes gave up the Midewiwin because they found that their ablest men were dying off. One of his informants went into more detail and explained that the Giant Mosquito had presented them originally with this dance, ostensibly as a blessing, but actually to supply himself with blood. The culture hero finally opened their eyes to what was happening, and they abandoned the midewiwin. This account brings to mind the "great musquito" of Iroquois tradition. (See for example Beauchamp, JAFL, 2, p. 284, 1889.)

one, but two and three very big men of the Foxes died. The Mitawog were told to go free but they must dance no more.

Ever since that day to this, the Mita dance has not been danced by the Foxes. When the Kickapoos saw that the Foxes got along so well, and how pleased Manetowa was with the Foxes, they went to work and stopped the Mita dance among them in the same way that the Foxes did.

Account C.—The Foxes have not danced the Mitäwini for 50 years. Members of the society yet living keep their gourd rattles and their bags. They believe them to have yet the mysterious power that they had at the time when the dance was kept up.

WITCH SOCIETY

Wä'kātcīhagi,[62] witches, from o'kātci, foot. This was an organization of witches, both men and women, when the Indians were east of the Mississippi River, and probably for a while after they moved to the western side. These witches held their ceremony like the mitäwagi, the difference being in the throwing of charcoal at one another instead of shooting each other with the otterskin pouches. The charcoal was thrown with the hand. A newly elected member when shot would fall more readily than an old member.

THE SWAN DANCE

Hähäwikäwagi, the swan dance. This is a social dance, in no way religious. It is danced in the daytime. Women begin dancing first, and after a while when there are a good many, then the men join in. They dance in an oval ring. Music is furnished by men who are the drummers; these men sing. Some of the women dancers join in the singing. The drummers sit at the end on the outside.

The dance is got up by some one band and the other bands go to it and join in. The Swan gens has nothing to do with the getting up of the dance. Women go to the dance in couples. Later men join in and select women to dance with.

Men fan themselves with the wings of hawks, turkeys, and with the tails of eagles. The fanning is with the edge of the fan toward the bosom. Women use the same kind of fans, fanning themselves with the flat side toward the face.

[62] This corresponds in name to Skinner's Wäxkajihuk, a Sauk society of doctors who could slap their hands on the earth and shoot evil into a person. They had public contests and did shamanistic tricks like running through fire and throwing hot ashes on each other (Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, 5, p. 55). These tricks would seem to link the Sauk society with the Fox WâpanōwiweNi. (See T. Michelson, Notes on the Fox WâpanōwiweNi, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn.) What connection, if any, there is between the WâpanōwiweNi and the Wä'kātcīhagi, it is impossible to say.

Now and then a warrior rides up and tells about an incident that took place on some raid. The drumming and singing cease while the man talks. Applause comes in now and then by the drummers tapping the drum and whooping with the flat of the hand over the mouth. A talk costs the warrior food for the drummers and dancers. The gift may be a pony. This pony is sold and food is bought with what the pony sold for. A dog may be given. The food is taken to whatever family will cook it. Everybody is invited to eat.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA[63] AND RELATED DATA

INVITATION STICKS

When a sacred feast is given a ceremonial attendant is sent out with invitation sticks, or wi'kutiā'kōni. For each stem he is to invite a person. The attendant holds them in one hand. At every invitation he takes out a stick and places it in the other hand. This he keeps up until he has used up all the sticks from one hand. The bundle is then taken back to the feast and placed either by the sacred bundle or in the place between the two fires. The sacred bundle may or may not be opened.

THE SACRED BUNDLE[64]

A sacred bundle, or mīcāmi, does not contain anything that is evil; it has no witch medicine in it.[65] It is a protecting power from evil.[66]

INCENSE

Papagātagwa is the name of an evergreen tree the leaves of which are used in smoking a sacred bundle. A smudge is made of these leaves at the time of a sacred feast. This is the time when a sacred bundle is opened. The various things in the sacred bundle are taken out one at a time and held in the smoke of the smudge. This is done probably to keep insects from eating into the things of the roll and into the roll itself.

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[63] Along with the ceremonial properties listed here should be mentioned rattles, flutes or whistles, and drums. Rattles were made of deer hoofs or of gourds, the former being probably the older type. For hoof rattles there are Sauk and Winnebago parallels (T. Michelson, Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 8). The whistles were "made of the bamboo-like cane found growing along streams in many parts of the south, both east and west of the Mississippi. * * * The whistles were blown in battle, after having been treated with magic herbs, to weaken the power of the enemy and bewilder his senses, and are also sounded in the dances enacted at the war bundle feasts" (M. R. Harrington, U. Penn. Mus., Anthrop. Pub., vol. 4, p. 170, 1914).

[64] For detailed descriptions and excellent photographs of sacred bundles and their contents see M. R. Harrington, Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians (U. Penn., Univ. Mus. Anthrop. Pub., vol. 4, No. 2, 1914).

Skinner in a review of Harrington (Amer. Anthrop., vol. 17, pp. 577–579, 1915) makes some valuable generalizations. He states that the Central Algon-

SACRED TOBACCO

It happened once upon a time that the people could raise no more tobacco, and what they had left was soon used up. There was a man among the people who was a kind of manetouwisita. (This word has no exact English equivalent. It sometimes means witch; at other times one who communes with Wīsa'kä and the manitous.—W. J.) He

quian type of bundle is found among the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Menomini, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Iowa, and Otoe, with perhaps the Ponca and Omaha; that among the Menomini all bundles are private and personal, with hunting and witchcraft bundles more elaborately developed than among the Sauk and Fox; and that the contrast between Sauk and Iowa and Menomini bundles is greater in the traditional origin accounts than in use, ritual, or contents.

[65] Harrington obtained a hunting bundle from a Fox woman about which "enough was said or hinted, however, to show that this 'medicine' involved practices even nearer witchcraft then the last bundle, for the supposed powers of this one were actually turned against human beings with malevolent intent" (Harrington, op. cit., p. 246).

[66] Other evidences of the Fox attitude toward the sacred bundle:

"All gentes, it is said, indeed own sacred packs. They are the same, but the stories (appertaining to them) are a little different. And the contents of the sacred packs are a little different, and the songs are, indeed, a little different, so it is said" (Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 123).

"Moreover, when you lead a war party, then you must carry this sacred pack on your back. But not all the time: only after they have told you, you can go. Do not go aimlessly. And your fellow-clansmen may carry it only when they have a vision of it. This is the way you must do with your sacred pack here," he was told in his dream (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 115).

A successful war raid was proof that the manitous knew the sacred pack. It was considered gens and not individual property. Killing the enemy was spoken of as "feeding" the sacred pack (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 157).

The micami was held very sacred. Desecration of it was a terrible sin. It could never be laid on the ground, but was suspended from a tree, or hung half the height of the wickiup. Menstruating women were not to go near one. In the house in which one was hung the fire was to receive especial consideration; no one was to spit on this fire, nor burn bones in it, but only Indian tobacco and evergreen-tree wood.

Wennebea, the Sauk who acted as guide to Keating, of his own accord discussed with the latter how the Sauks regarded their medicine bags (1823): They always carried them; they administered the contents to relatives when sick; these bags were transmitted from their forefathers, who got them from the "Great Master of Life, himself"; they never went to war without them unless the chiefs had previously had visions. The reason for valuing them so highly was that they imparted the faculty, when near the enemy, of beholding fires in the heavens, passing from one cloud to another; if the fires were numerous and long-continued, the enemies were numerous and should be avoided; if the fires were few, they should attack. He ascribed the serious losses which the Sauks had sustained to the fact that some had thrown their medicine bags away at the instigation of the Shawnee prophet (Tecumseh's brother) (W. H. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, etc., I, pp. 229–230. Philadelphia, 1824).

often heard the Ke'tci manitōwa when he spoke. One night when this man was asleep Ke'tci manitōwa came to him and whispered in his ear, "I want you to rise and go toward the north in the direction of the Great Water. You will arrive at the place I direct you on the fourth day. Do not trouble yourself about the way for I shall guide you. And this will be the sign for you to stop. On the fourth day you will come into a thick grove where you will see a large tree whose top bends very far over so that it points down to the ground. Go to this tree, and to the spot where you see the tree top points, because you will see there a small, tender plant. I want you to watch over that plant, and tend it carefully until it is fully grown, and then bring it home to the people."

The man rose, and did what Ke'tci manitōwa told him. He arrived at the grove on the fourth day and found the tree with the bending top which pointed to the ground. He got down on his hands and knees at the spot where the treetop bent over, and found, sure enough, a small, tender tobacco plant. He pulled up the other plants and grass about it, and watched over the tobacco plant and tended it until it was fully grown. Then he pulled it up and brought it home. He showed the tobacco to the people and told them how he got it. Then he took the little seeds of the tobacco and put them in the ground in an unfrequented place. In that place other plants of tobacco grew up. Then this man took the old men of the people to the place where he was growing the tobacco and gave them each some plants to take care of. By and by there was tobacco for all the people to use. This is the tobacco that we use for an offering to Wīsa'kä and to the Four Thunderers when they come to visit us.

THE SWEAT LODGE

The sweat lodge should be made in this manner. It should be in form like the flag-reed lodge. It should be not more than 3 paces long, 3 paces wide, and not higher than a man's head. One pole should stand at the north, one at the south, one at the east, and one at the west. The opposite poles should then bend and meet, forming arches. Over this frame of crossed arches flag-reed mats should be laid; they should shut out the outside air. In the center should be a cleared space for a stone. This stone is heated outside in live coals, and is fetched inside when the people are ready for the sweat. A pail of water is set beside the stone, and in the pail is a switch of grass.

A man enters naked under a blanket and when within he shoves the blanket outside immediately behind him. He kneels facing the stone in the middle. As many can go in as can find a place to kneel. A man leads in prayer and song. He first passes around the holy tobacco to be used. After this he offers a prayer to the manitou in the stone.

Four times he prays and four times he sings, the others joining in the song. During the first prayer he sprinkles holy tobacco and the others follow his example. After the prayer comes the first song. After the singing the leader drops a little water on the stone. After the second prayer and the second song more water is added, and so on up to the end of the fourth song, when more water than ever is put on. Then they all come out.

Often one will cut oneself over the arms and legs, slitting oneself only beneath the skin. It is done to open up many passages for the manitou to pass into the body. The manitou comes from its place of abode in the stone. It becomes roused by the heat of the fire, and proceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled on. It comes out in the steam and in the steam it enters the body wherever it finds entrance. It moves up and down and all over inside the body, driving out everything that inflicts and brings on pain. Before the manitou returns to the stone it imparts some of its nature to the body. That is why one often feels so well after having been in the sweat lodge.

TELLING OF STORIES

Sometimes a man goes into a fast to tell stories. He paints all his face black. This is at night, and when he begins to tell stories it is to be for all the night.

Often he does not eat in the morning, nor for the whole day. His eating is at midnight. He shells off two rows of white corn from a cob of eight rows. The corn he makes into tagwahani, and cooks in a small kettle. The amount he eats at this time is very small.

All this is that he may have good health and that he may have long life.

TABOOED FOOD

Old men only are permitted to eat the gut of a deer, beef, buffalo, or any animal. Old men who have not joined in coition with a woman are also not permitted to eat this. No boys are permitted to eat of it because they have not cohabited. The gut is turned inside out and boiled.

GAMES

Lacrosse.[67]—Long ago our people were living eastward from here.

[67] The rackets and ball collected by Dr. Jones at Tama are illustrated in Stewart Culin's monograph, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 572–573. The game is called bagahatuwitni, the stick, otchi, and the ball pekwaki. Twenty pieces of reed were used as message sticks for the game. Forsyth mentions it as their most active game, and says the women also played it (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 230). Lacrosse was usually played at adoption feasts for men. If the man for whom the feast was given had been a Tokan, then the Kickos could not win, and vice versa. (See T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 385.)

It was somewhere beyond the Great Lakes. It was there that the manitou came among them and gave them the knowledge and skill of playing lacrosse. He came with a lacrosse stick in one hand and a ball covered with buckskin in the other. The ball was painted red. He gave the stick and ball to them and taught them how to play. He told them that the game would belong to them, even though other people should learn the game from them.

Ice hockey.[68]—This is played on the ice. The goals may be any distance apart up to 200 yards. A line or mark is often the goal, and a goal is made when the ball passes over the line. Men can play alone and so can women. Often both men and women play, both sexes mixed on a side.

Nā nis kwäputōwa, "he throws with a sling." [69]

Tōpāgāhagi, hoops made of bark and covered with bark.[70]—The game is played thus: Boys take sides, each side with bows and a definite number of arrows. One side rolls the wheels to the other side to be shot at. Should side 2 miss all the hoops then it rolls them back for side 1 to shoot at. Should side 1 hit a hoop it retains that hoop and rolls the other three back for side 2 to shoot at. Should side 2 hit a hoop, then the other side must throw back the hoop that had been hit by it. This shooting is kept up until one side hits all four hoops. Should side 1 hit all four hoops first, then side 2 sets up all its arrows. If four hoops were used, then side 1 rolls the four hoops at the arrows, and all the arrows hit by the hoops go into the possession of side 1. The game is played while the bark is yet green on the tōpākāhi. The bark must be pierced before the point can count. The point is not counted if the arrow drops off the topakahi. The game is played about the lodges, and is encouraged because it keeps away apenaweni, sickness.

Atōwāhi.[71]—This game is played with a bow and arrow. The arrow is sharp. The atowahi is placed over the part of the hand which

[68] The stick and ball collected by Dr. Jones are illustrated in Culin (p. 623)· The ball was leather-covered, with median seam, flattened, and 5 inches in diameter; the stick was a sapling, curved at the striking end, 41 inches in length.

[69] This apparently refers to the summer dart game. Slinging darts and stick for a game called nāneskwapuchuweni, collected by Dr. Jones, are illustrated in Culin (p. 408). Similar darts for playing on the frozen ground or ice are also pictured there, along with various types of darts and sliders, some carved to resemble snakes, and several of them marked in a way to indicate that they were undoubtedly meant for use in Kicko-Tokan contests.

[70] See Culin, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 448, for illustrations. The largest ring pictured is 3½ inches in diameter.

[71] See ibid., fig. 585, for an atōwāhi collected by Dr. Jones at Tama. It is a little bundle of elm bark 3 inches long. Culin remarks, "In another form of the game the bundle of elm bark or rings are buried in the sand and shot at with arrows. The game is to hit the concealed bundle or ring so that the arrow shall be held by it" (ibid., p. 449).

holds the bow, and where the arrow crosses. The atōwāhi is tossed into the air and shot at while in the air. A bark ring is often used for an atōwāhi, or often only a piece of bark. The atōwāhi must be pierced before the point will count; merely hitting it is not enough. Only green bark is used.

Māma'kesāhiwéni, moccasin game.[72]—Four moccasins are used. Twelve sticks are used for counters on each side. A lead bullet is the object hidden.

Agitcikanahamōgi, they play the counting game.[73]—An ancient game not played now and mentioned only in story (agitāsōwa, he counts; agitāsōweni, counting).

[72] The counting sticks and pointer for this game are illustrated in Culin (p. 345). Moccasin was a man's game and was played as a gambling game to the accompaniment of singing and drumming (ibid., p. 339). This game was frequently played at adoption feasts for men (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 385).

[73] Dr. Jones told Culin (loc. cit., p. 232) that although the game is no longer played, from the constant reference to it in story the people were familiar with it, and made a set of implements (a bundle of peeled willow sticks of the same length, and a dividing stick) according to their tradition. Two such sticks are illustrated. One bundle contained 102 sticks, and the other 51. In playing the entire bundle is held together and then allowed to fall in a pile which is then divided with the pointer. The object is to separate a pile which will fall into one of the following categories:

nāgitīwa----------11 or 21 or 31 or 41, etc.
nāsīwa----------13 or 23 or 33 or 43, etc.
nyānanīwa----------15 or 25 or 35 or 45, etc.
nuhigāwa----------17 or 27 or 37 or 47, etc.
cāgāwa----------19 or 29 or 39 or 49, etc.

The player must give the pile the correct name before putting down the dividing stick. If he succeeds he scores one point, but if he fails the turn goes to another player.

Game [1]

White-faced copper	Green-faced copper	White face	Green face	Count
2			6	10
	2	6		10
1	1		6	5
1	1	6		5
	2		6	4
2		6		4
2		5	1	2
	2	1	5	2
2		4	2	1
	2	2	4	1
2		3	3	0

[1] These notes must refer to the dice or platter game. If we assume there were 8 dice, green on one side and white on the other, with 2 further marked by a brass or copper boss, the scoring checks with that given by Culin for a similar set which he collected at Tama (p. 85). Culin says that both men and women play, but that it is especially a woman's game. According to Forsyth (*in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 230) the platter game was played exclusively by women. It was frequently played at adoption feasts for women (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 385).

SHAM FIGHTS

Mackotäkwanōni, bow and blue-joint arrows.—Used in sham fights. Boys take sides and play war. This is one of the ways in which boys are taught to fight.

Näwīpaskwähiwagi, they fight a corncob fight.—The fight is a sham, and is fought at the time when people are drying corn. Boys fight as they do with blue-joint grass (uwīpaskwi, corncob). The cob is thrown with the hand.

Aiyaciskinähiwagi, they fight with clay.—Another sham fight, played like the ones with blue-joint grass and cobs. The clay is rolled into a ball and thrown from the end of a stick (Kōgaʻkīwiwi, it is boggy; agwiskaʻkīwiwi, it is muddy).

OTHER GAMES KNOWN AT TAMA

Cat's cradle.—See Culin (p. 762) for figures.

Dolls.—Fox girls had corn-husk dolls, furnished with muskrat and squirrel skin clothes. They played the same kind of imitative games with them that white children do. They learned how to sew by making clothes for these dolls. (See T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 297, 338.)

Double-ball, or "the women's ball game."—For a description of this game and the kidney-shaped balls with which it was played, see Culin (pp. 654–655). The game was played only by women, Kickos against Tokans. This game was sometimes played at a woman's adoption feast instead of platter, depending on what the woman was in the habit of playing when alive. As in the ceremonial lacrosse, if the woman for whom the feast was given was a Kicko, then the Tokans could not win, and vice versa (T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 385).

Racing.—"Running foot races and horses they are very fond of" (Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, p. 230).

Ring and pin game.—Strings of wooden cones used for playing this game, collected by both Culin and Jones, are illustrated in Culin (pp. 541–542). Jones gives the name of the game as nibiquihok, elm-tree eyes. Culin was told that the game was played by a boy and a girl together. This is interesting, as among the Penobscot a boy called upon a girl to play it with her. "If his company is agreeable to her, she continues the game to the end; but if, on her first successful thrust, instead of continuing, she hands the ah-dú-is to him, it means that his company is not acceptable" (Willoughby, cited by Culin, pp. 541–542). And among the Grosventres it was "a game and favorite pastime among young men and women, and so often called the matrimonial game" (G. A. Dorsey, cited by Culin, p. 537).

Sham battles.—"They frequently in the summer season have sham battles. A party of footmen undertake to conduct to their village some friends, they on their journey are attacked by a party of horsemen who rush on them from the woods and surround them, the footmen throw themselves into the form of a hollow square, the horsemen are armed with pistols, the footmen receive them with a volley, and beat them off, and are again attacked from another quarter, and so on alternately until they succeed in bringing their friends safe to their village. In those en-

counters many get thrown from their horses and sometimes the footmen get trampled on by the horses, but during the whole of the transaction nothing like anger makes its appearance; they all retire on the best terms with each other, and it would be considered as shameful and too much like a woman for a man to become angry in play" (Forsyth, *in* Blair, Indian Tribes, II, pp. 231–232).

Tag.—Fox children have a game of tag quite similar to a game frequently played by white children. Sticks are drawn from a bundle to determine which child is to be "It." To be caught, a child must be hit squarely on the head, after which he becomes the chaser's partner, and the game continues until all are caught; or if a swift runner is left uncaught, he may be made the chaser for the next game. (See T. Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 339.)

Tops.—A stone whip top and a whip having two leather lashes, collected by Dr. Jones at Tama, are illustrated in Culin. The game was played on the ice. "The top is called nimitcihi, dancer" (Culin, p. 735).

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Appendix A.—MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL DATA

The base for these work sheets is a tribal roll published in 1906 by Duren Ward under the title "The Meskwaki People of Today," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 4, pp. 190–219, 1906.

There were several reasons for selecting this roll as a base. First, my data came from two main sources—Jones' notes, undated, collected between 1897 and 1906, and Michelson's unpublished data on gens affiliation and dual division, obtained in 1917. Ward's roll thus had the same date as Jones' latest work, and was midway between Jones' earliest work and Michelson's membership lists. It seemed probable that it would serve to link the two sets of data. Further, it was not just a Government census, which frequently enough does not coincide with a tribe's own notions of membership, but rather was a list of those Indians at Tama who were considered members of the tribe by both tribe and Government.

However, many of the individuals named in Jones' genealogies could not be located on the 1906 roll. Accordingly the 1897 Government annuity roll was searched, with little better result. The 1882 annuity roll was also tried, unsuccessfully.

In consequence the Jones genealogies are given separately as Appendix B. Some facts contained there have been incorporated into this roll, and some dates from this roll have been inserted into the genealogical diagrams, but the overlapping of the two sets of data is less extensive than could be desired.

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
1	No ka ge No ka ka (James Scott)	M		1854	Father of 192 and 193		K
2	Hă she ta nă kwa twa Ash e tone e quot (George Morgan)	M	Father	1857	Brother of 72; half brother of 74; mother 71 (Wolf); father a Potawatomi.	Bear (Black).	
3	Kă sĭ no ska ka Ka see no ska ka	M	Son	1894		Bear (?).	
4	Wa pa nū ke Wa pellu ka (Councillor)	M	Husband	1827		Thunder.	
5	Pe she ki sĭ kwe Pe shek e see qua	F	Wife	1833			
6	Wă wă sa hă Wa wa sah ak ha	F		1873			
7	Ta ta pă go Ta ta pau go (John Leaf)	M	Husband	1865		War Chief	T
8	Na na wa chi	F	Wife	1862	Daughter of 4	Thunder	K
9	Nō ka wa ta No ca wa ta (Bill Leaf)	M	Son	1886	In 1905 married Lucy Painter, a Winnebago	War Chief	K
10	Ma ta shĭ kwă	F	Daughter	1893		War Chief (?).	
11	Na sa pi pyā ta (John Allen) Councillor, returned from Kansas, 1862	M	Husband	1839	Brother of 300	Bass (Fish)	K
12	No ki	F	Wife	1842			

13	Cha ki shi Cha ke sha (Edna Allen)	F	Granddaughter	1890	Wife of 57 (Thunder).		
14	Pe pye mī skwi	F	Mother	1870	Wife of 134 (Black Bear)	Fish	K
15	Pwa wi ne ne ke ne me nī ka	M	Son	1893		War Chief	T
16	Pye twa we ya kī kwa Pyăt wa yā'a	F		1886	Daughter of 14 (Fish) (illegitimate)	Thunder	T
17	Wa wă sa	F	Grandmother	1833	Mother of 168 (Thunder).		
18	Kă mi ya nō se kwa	F	Granddaughter	1888	Wife of 63 (Thunder)	Thunder	K
19	Me she ne Ma sho na Mede ne a (John Pete)	M		1886	Grandson of 17	Bear (Brown)	T
20	Pī ta tō kwe (Old Man Pete)	M	Husband	1845		Bear (Brown)	T
21	No te no kwe	F	Wife	1862	Sister of 168 (Thunder); mother was 17	Thunder	T
22	Mă shi si pō ta Me di si lota (George Pete)	M		1885	Son of 21	Bear (Brown)	K
23	Kī wă ta Ke wa ta (Mrs. Black Dog)	F	Mother	1874	Wife of 191 (Fish)	Thunder	K
24	Ma ne se nō ki wa kwe wa	F	Daughter	1894		War Chief	T
25	Ha kwa mī ta	[1] M	Son	1896		War Chief	T
26	Mu kwa pă na sha Magi la na da (Young Bear)	M	Husband	1867	Eldest son of 299 (Bear)	Bear (Brown)	K
27	No ki pi wă kwa	F	Wife	1870	Sister of 107 (Thunder)	Thunder	T

[1] Erroneously listed as daughter in source.

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No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
28	Po na wă pi kwa Lo na wa li ga (Mrs. John Roberts)	F	Daughter	1891	Wife of 209 (Wolf)	Bear	K
29	Mă ta wi kwa Ni sho ne ne ke (Robert Young Bear)	M	Son	1888	Married Jimmy Ward's sister, a Beaver	Bear	T (?)
30	Ho ki ma kwă wa (Lucy Young Bear) Dead.	F	Daughter	1895		Bear	T
31	Nă na ha kyă pi Kyă pi'a (George Young Bear)	M	Son	1897		Bear	T
32	Na na chi hō wa (Frank Young Bear)	M	Son	1899		Bear (Black)	K
33	Cha ko so	M	Son	1903		Bear	K
34	Ma kwi ke cha wi (Nellie Young Bear)	F	Daughter	1905		Bear	T
35	Ki ya kwa ka (Ki wa ga ka) (John Young Bear)	M		1886	Son of 26	Bear (Brown)	T
36	Kă ke nō se (Earl D. Morgan)	M		1889	Brother of 37 (Wolf); father—John C. Morgan (Wolf)	Wolf.	
37	Mă shi mi sha kwa Wah po na pe (Amos Appletree and Amos A. Morgan)	M		1880	Brother of 36 (Wolf)	Wolf	K
38	Mi nō kwe (Mrs. Johnson)	F	Grandmother	1842	Mother of 161 (Bear), mother of 44.		
39	Ka ki ki (Willy Johnson)	M	Grandson	1888	Brother of 122 (Bear)	Bear (Brown)	T

40	Chi kī kă Chi ke a (Mrs. White Breast)	F	Mother	1884	Second wife of 48 (Thunder)	Bear (Brown)	T
41	Ki wă na	F	Daughter	1899		Thunder	T
42	Pă shkō nă	F	Daughter	1901		Thunder	K
43	Ky a na wa (Alfred Kyana)	M	Husband	1877	Brother of 307	War Chief	T
44	Cha cha kō să kwa Cha cha co sah	F	Wife	1880	Daughter of 38	Bear (?).	
45	Pă mĭ na (Called McKenna)	M	Son	1899	Married de ko ka, one of the George Davenports	War Chief	T
46	Wi ta ka We pa ka	M	Son	1902		War Chief	K
47	Mă mă so să nă mă	M	Son	1905		War Chief.	
48	Wa pe ski ka kă Wa le dki ka ke (White Breast)	M		1875	Son of 322 (Thunder); husband of 40 (Bear); father of 177 (Thunder); first wife was sister of 176 (Pheasant).	Thunder	K
49	Na na kwi (Said to be a Sauk; wife a Winnebago; has gone to Wisconsin.)	M		1840		Bear	T
50	Kwa skwa mi (Albert Brown) (Sauk descent)	M		1884	Son of 49, Sauk (Bear)	Bear	T
51	Ma ka tă ma skĭ kwă (Ed Brown) (Sauk descent)	M	Husband	1873	Son of 49, Sauk (Bear); father of 113 (Wolf)	Bear	K
52	Pă pye na	F	Wife	1878	Sister of 112 and 114 (Brown Bear) (illegitimate)	Bear (?) Fox (?).	T
53	Kă ta tă sĭ wa	M	Son	1900			
54	Wĭ tă kō kwă (Mrs. Hawkins)	F		1853		Thunder	T

? Erroneously called granddaughter in source.

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
55	Wa ni ti wä nä (Bill Wanetee)	M	Husband	1862	Son of 231 (Thunder); brother of 326 (Thunder)	Thunder	K
56	Pä mi ka wi kwa (Anna Wanetee) (Dead)	F	Wife	1863	Second marriage; first marriage was also to a man of Thunder gens.	Elk	T
57	Hä shi ka ma kä (Henry Wanetee)	M	Son	1888	Husband of 13	Thunder.	
58	Kī wä ta mo kwä (Martha Wanetee)	F	Daughter	1890		Thunder	K
59	Chī kwä na mō a	M	Son	1893		Thunder.	
60	Ha ski pa ka kä kwa A ski la ga	F	Daughter	1898		Thunder	T
61	Shä kī	M	Son	1901			
62	NI ka nwä ta mō kwa	F	Daughter	1903			
63	Hä ta nä tō ka E ta ne to (David Wanetee)	M		1886	Husband of 18 (Thunder); son of 55 (Thunder)	Thunder	K
64	Pa pa kī wa (John Papake)	M	Husband	1858		Thunder	T
65	Wä tä to Watato (Sauk)	F	Wife	1866		Thunder	T
66	Kī shka na kwi (Celeste Papake)	F	Daughter	1893		Thunder.	
67	Ne ne mä kī wa (Charlie Papake)	M	Son	1891		Thunder.	
68	Ki wa shī ka	M	Son	1896		Thunder	K
69	Wa pi skwa to	M	Son	1901		Thunder.	
70	Wä pwä ta ka	M	Son	1903		Thunder	T
71	Hä kwä wī ta Ah qe wit	F		1833	Mother of 2 (Bear) and 72 (Bear)	Wolf	T

72	Ma ma sa (James Mamasa)	M		1871	Former husband of 73 (Bear); mother is 71 (Wolf); brother of 2 (Bear); half brother of 74 (Bear).	Bear	K
73	Mă skwa pa nō kwă	F		1882	Daughter of 161, Bear	Bear.	
74	Kă kă kwi mo	M	Husband	1868	Half brother of 2 (Bear) and 72 (Bear)	Bear	T
75	Ha no sa hă kwa A no sa e ga	F	Wife	1867		Thunder	K (?) T (?)
76	Pa si ki wa	[3] M	Stepson	1891	Mother is 75	Fish	K
77	Wa wa pa sō kwa	F	Stepdaughter	1894	Mother is 75	Fish	T
78	Wa so ha ka	F	Daughter	1900			
79	Ki wă wo sa hă kwa	F	Daughter	1903		Bear (Black).	
80	Ha mă kwa (Dr. Hormick, or Beaver)	M	Husband	1842		Beaver.	
81	Na yă no Ah nai no	F	Wife	1842			
82	Pa ke to (Died 1905)	M	Father	1847	Son of 129; husband of 147	Thunder	K
83	Nă ko twă ta ka	M	Son	1888		Thunder (?)[4].	
84	Kă mi ya	M	Son	1892		Thunder (?).	
85	Wa pa shi ma kwa	M	Son	1895		Bear name.	
86	Ka ka wi ka	M	Son	1899		Thunder (?).	
87	Pye pa ha Li te wa (Jim Peters) (Died 1917; father a Sauk)	M	Husband	1866	Son of 128 and 129; half brother of 82 (Thunder) and 218 (Thunder); brother of 197 (Thunder); father of 130 (Thunder); father of 93 (Thunder)	Thunder	T
88	Kă nō mă	F	Wife	1859	Illegitimate	Thunder (?) Bear (?).	K
89	Wa să na (Mary Peters)	F	Daughter	1891		Thunder	K
90	Pye twă ta	F	Daughter	1893		Thunder	T (?) K (?)
91	Nă ha no	M	Son	1902		Thunder.	

[3] Erroneously called daughter in source.
[4] Informants disagree.

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
92	Ki wa twă ta ka	M	Nephew	1897		Thunder	K
93	No te nō ke (Sam Peters)	M		1885	Son of 87 (Thunder); brother of 130 (Thunder)	Thunder	T
94	Sha wa na kwa ha ka (Jim Morgan)	M	Husband	1852	Brother of 213, 214, 287, 291	Thunder (?).	
95	Hă pī wī	F	Wife	1852			
96	Nī pă kwa (Buck Green) (Potawatomi)	M	Husband	1854	Father of 107 (Thunder).		
97	Ma hwă kwă wa (Wolf woman)	F	Wife	1849		Wolf (?).	
98	Ma ya chi	M	Grandson	1896		War Chief	T
99	Ole Lasley	F	Granddaughter	1899			
100	Wa wa să mō kwă (Sauk list)	F	Granddaughter	1900		Eagle	K
101	Wa wa ko	F	Mother	1875	Wife of Jim Eagle, the Sioux		
102	Ha kwă ha ta	F	Daughter	1897		War Chief	K
103	Cha ki ma ko	M	Son	1899			
104	Mă kă sī sa (On Sioux list)	M	Son	1902		Bear	T
105	Nă wa tă na (On Sioux list)	M	Son	1904		Bear	K
106	Kă mo to ki ma wa Ke mo to (Jack Bullard)	M	Husband	1879		Eagle	K
107	Ki wa kwa ho mŏ kwă (Lucy Lasley) (On Sauk list)	F	Wife	1880	Daughter of 96 (Potawatomi); sister of 27 (Thunder); once wife of William Lasley (War Chief)	Thunder	K

108	Ne ko tielia (Äpia) (Harvey Lasley) (On Sauk list)	M	Son	1895		Eagle	T
109	Ki ka sä kwa	F	Daughter	1903		Eagle	T
110	Na wa tä ni tä kwa	M	Son	1905		Eagle.	
111	Pō nwä ta	F	Mother	1848	Mother of 52	Wolf	T
112	Mä kī so pyä ta	M	Son	1889	Brother of 52 and 114	Bear (Brown)	K
113	Nä kwa skī wa	M	Grandson	1895	Father was 51 (Bear); mother was 52	Wolf (?).	
114	Nī pä wo sä kwe Ni la wo se ge	F		1884	Sister of 52 and 112 (Bear); mother is 111 (Wolf)	Bear (Brown)	K
115	Wa ka ki she kwa	M	Husband	1870	Mother is 201		
116	Sha po wä wa (Frances Woodward)	F	Wife	1870			
117	Ma chi kwä ua Wa so sah (Sauk)	F	Grandmother	1846		War Chief	T
118	Ha ki ni ka ni sa ta	M	Grandson	1891		Fish (Swan).	
119	Pä nä sī	M		1884	Grandmother is 117 (War Chief)	Bear (Black)	T
120	Kä pä yū ma wa Kä pe yu Councillor	M	Husband	1866		War Chief	K
121	Sha wa nō kwä Da wa no gea	F	Wife	1868		Bear (Black)	K
122	Nä ko tō shä (Elsie Johnson)	F		1891	Full sister to 39	Bear (Brown)	K
123	Mī sha ka Me shaka (Oscar Kapayou)	M	Son	1897		War Chief (Thunder name).	K
124	Nä ho ta mō kwä (Ada Kä pä you)	F	Daughter	1899		War Chief.	

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
125	Hă nī ka wă	M	Son	1901		War Chief	K
126	Ki wă să (Died 1905)	F	Daughter	1903		War Chief.	
127	Kī pa hī wă kwa (Emma Showan)	F		1867	Half sister of 121 (Black Bear)	Thunder.	
128	Kwī ya mă Que e mah (Sauk)	M	Husband	1833	Father of 87 (Thunder)	Thunder.	
129	Ma wī so Me so	F	Wife	1843	Mother of 82 and 87 (Thunder).		
130	Wa pa nă tō ka Wa la ne to (Joe Peters)	M		1884	Son of 87 (Thunder); brother of 93 (Thunder); wife was Kate, a Winnebago (Thunder? Her father was a Bear)	Thunder	K
131	Ma nwă ta ka (Frank Earl) (Sauk blood)	M		1880	Son of 194, former husband of 170 (Thunder)	Wolf	K
132	Să ki to	M	Grandfather	1843		Thunder.	
133	Pi ta wa na kwa twa	M	Grandson	1893		Thunder	K
134	Tă tă pă sha (Claimant to tribal chieftainship)	M	Father	1871	Brother of 167; husband of 14 (Fish); father of 15 and 16.	Bear (Black)	K
135	Na no wī	F	Daughter	1893		Bear	T
136	Pă yō kī	F	Daughter	1894		Bear	K
137	Wī pă kō ki ma kwă wa (Blue Chief Woman) (Mother died 1905)	F	Sister	1898	Daughter of 134 (?)	Bear (Black).	
138	Să na ka pi (Mother died 1905)	F	Sister	1900	Daughter of 134 (?)	Bear (Black).	

139	Wī shi ka kyĕ ska ka (John Jones)	M		1884		War Chief	T
140	Pă shī wa La di ki wa Le di wa (Wild Cat) (John Benson) (Winnebago)	M	Father	1861		Fish (Sturgeon)	K
141	Hă pi ta ka	M	Son	1888		Fish (Sturgeon).	
142	Tă pi nwa ha	M	Son	1892		Fish (Sturgeon).	
143	Ta nŏ kwa	F	Daughter	1894		Fish (Sturgeon)	K (?) T (?)
144	Wa se ta nwa (Died in 1905)	[1] F		1886	Daughter of 140	Fish (?).	
145	Mă nă to wă se	F		1859	Sister of 215	Thunder	T
146	Ma ka tă wa kwa ta (Black Cloud).	M		1843	Former husband of 147; Mother is 111 (Wolf)	Bear.	
147	Pye tă na hă	F	Mother	1858	Wife of 82 (Thunder); mother of 241		
148	Pi sko nī wa	M	Son	1893	Illegitimate	Thunder	T
149	Ka ka ta	F	Daughter	1895	Illegitimate	Thunder.	
150	Wī shi ko wa ta	F	Daughter	1899	Illegitimate	Thunder.	
151	Mă tă kwī pă ka ta Le ka ta (George Black Cloud)	M		1886	Son of 146	Bear (Brown)	T
152	Ki wa to sa ta (John Black Cloud)	M		1882	Son of 146	Bear (Brown)	K
153	Sa ki ta nŏ kwa	F	Mother	1875	Sister of 181 (Fish—Beaver)	Fish (Beaver)	K
154	Ki mŏ no (Slick one)	M	Son	1896		Wolf	K
155	Pă tă go to	M	Son	1902		Wolf	T

[1] Sex erroneously given in source.

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
156	Ha pa ta hō na (John Scott)	M	Father	1870		Fish	T
157	Ha kwa shi nō kwa	F	Daughter	1893		Fish.	
158	Tă tă pi ta nwa	M	Son	1895		Fish	K
159	Ta pa nō kwa	F	Daughter	1896		Fish.	
160	Ma chi nō kă	F	Daughter	1903		Fish	T
161	Pa wi shī ka La wi di ka (Jim Poweshiek)	M	Father	1858	Mother is 38, Grandfather was Chief Pawishīka; father of 73.	Bear	K
162	Nă hō wă (Mary Poweshiek)	F	Wife	1858			
163	Ma ma kī chī wa Ma ki tti wa (Horace Poweshiek)	M	Son	1890		Bear (Brown)	K
164	Mă shi ma ta kwa Me di wa te ga (Jonas Poweshiek)	M	Son	1893		Bear	T
165	Pa wă na mō kwa La we na mo ga (Ida Poweshiek)	F	Daughter	1897		Bear	T
166	Wa pă shka Wa le ska (Willie Poweshiek)	M	Son	1898		Bear	K
167	Mă skwă si	F		1885	Sister of 134 (Bear); wife of 251 (War Chief)	Bear (Black).	
168	Cha kă ta ko si (Chuck)	M	Husband	1867	Mother was 17; brother of 21	Thunder	K
169	Kwă chi wi Ge tti wi	F	Wife	1872		Eagle	K
170	Pī wă nī wa	F	Daughter	1888	Wife of 131 (Wolf)	Thunder.	
171	Mă shi wa na kă sha ka	M	Son	1894	Illegitimate	Eagle.	

172	Kya sa ta ka (Charlie Keosatuck)	M	Husband	1866		Thunder	T
173	Kwă ta chi	F	Wife	1871		Wolf	T
174	Ki wa tă (Mrs. Black Dog)	F	Mother	1877	Wife of 277	Thunder	K
175	Ko nă pa	F	Daughter	1899			
176	Kwī kwa ha	F	Aunt	1867	Sister of 48's first wife	Pheasant	T
177	Na kă ha mŏ kwă	F	Niece	1895	Daughter of 48 (Thunder); mother was sister of 176 (Pheasant)	Thunder	T
178	Kă pă hŏ (John McIntosh) (Potowatomi)	M	Husband	1827	Father of 237; father-in-law of 181 and 236	Wolf.	
179	Wī ha ha	F	Wife	1833			
180	Kă skī să ka wŏ ta (Fred Lincoln)	M		1885	Son of 186 and 187	Bear.	
181	Wa sa chi wa nwa (George Ward)	M	Father	1873	Son-in-law of 178 and 179	Fish (Beaver)	T
182	Mă skwa să ta (James Ward)	M	Son	1892		Fish (Beaver)	K
183	Ma ta chi	F	Daughter	1895	One of these two married Robert Youngbear	Fish (Beaver)	K
184	Wa pa pī ha we kwa	F	Daughter	1897		Fish (Beaver).	T
185	Ma na pye skă mu kwa (Died in 1904)	F	Daughter	1900		Fish (Beaver).	
186	Hă ski pa ke si (Sam Lincoln) (Winnebago)	M	Husband	1858		Bear.	
187	Pe mī ta	F	Wife	1856		Fish.	K
188	Tă wa ko ha ka (Harry Lincoln)	M	Son	1890	Brother of 180; husband of 272 (Wolf)	Bear (Thunder name).	
189	Mă no se (Charlie Lincoln)	M	Son	1898	Brother of 180	Bear.	
190	Ma nī na	F		1884	Daughter of 186 and 187	Bear.	

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
191	Ke wă si (Jim Thompson)	M		1863	Mother is 285 (War Chief); husband of 23 (Thunder).	Fish	K
192	Nă ha kwa na ta	M		1886	Son of 191 (Fish)	Fish.	
193	Nă ta wă nă chī kă (Bill Scott)	M		1884	Son of 1.		
194	Kwi ne pwa (Sauk)	M	Husband	1849	Father of 131 (Wolf).		
195	Mī sa kă kwa	F	Wife	1856			
196	Ha sa mō we	F	Granddaughter	1900		Bear (Black).	
197	Tă pa sa kă kwa (Maggie)	F	Mother	1873	Niece of 87 (Thunder); granddaughter of 128 and 129.		
198	Ha nă mwă ta mwa A ne mwe ski a	F	Daughter	1894	Father was a white man	Thunder	K
199	Kī wa sī kwa	F	Daughter	1896		Bear (Black).	
200	Wī pă kwa	F	Daughter [6]	1900		Bear	T
	Papoose			1905			
201	Ma mō ki	F	Grandmother	1838	Mother of 115.		
202	Ha shō na	F	Granddaughter	1888			
203	No shă ko	F	Granddaughter	1891			
204	Wă myă sa ta	M	Grandson	1896			
205	Nī ka na hō ta	F	Granddaughter	1888	Wife of 217 (Thunder).		
206	Wa pa shkă si kwa	F	Granddaughter	1887	Wife of 307 (War Chief)	Fish	T
207	Nă wa kī ki	F	Mother	1857	Wife of 215 (Thunder)	Kindly Chief (?)	K
						War Chief (?).	
208	Sha tă nō ta	M	Son	1887		Wolf	K
209	Nă nye skwī ta (John Roberts)	M	Son	1889		Wolf	T
210	Pi ta wi	M	Son	1892		Thunder.	

211	Wa sä ha nō kwa	F	Daughter	1896	Illegitimate	Thunder (?) Wolf (?).	
212	Wa wa sä mō kwa	F	Daughter	1904		Thunder.	
213	Sa na wä kwä	F		1822	Sister of 94, 214, 287, and 291	Thunder (?).	
214	Kä tī ya	F		1833	Sister of 94, 213, 287, and 291	Thunder (?).	
215	Hä sa mī sa (Wallace) (Henry Samasaw ?)	M		1861	Brother of 145; husband of 207; former husband of 216	Thunder	T
216	Shä skī kwi	F		1865	Former wife of 215.		
217	Sa ka na kwa twa	M		1886	Husband of 205; nephew of 215	Thunder	T
218	Wa se ska ka (Little Harry)	M	Husband	1860	Son of 128 and 129; brother of 82 (Thunder); half brother of 197; half brother of 87.	Thunder	T
219	Nä ta kō sä	F	Wife	1870	Later was George Ward's second wife (Fish) 181		
220	Na na ki	M	Son	1889		War Chief	T
221	Ko ta to	F	Daughter	1890		Thunder	K
222	Na wa tä	F	Daughter	1891		Thunder.	
223	Nä na wa ke	M	Son	1892		Thunder	K
224	Nä nä ma ki sa	M	Son	1893		Thunder	K (?)
225	Mä skwī pi	M	Son	1897		Thunder.	
						Thunder	T
226	Pä mō sa hä	F		1883		Bear (Black)	K
227	Pä mī pa ha kwa Le mi la ega (Sam Slick)	M	Husband	1874		Wolf	K
228	Nī pa na mō kwä	F	Wife	1872			
229	Pī na sha	M	Son	1890	Illegitimate	Thunder (?). Thunder (Bear ?)	T
	LI na da						
230	Ka no mä kwa	M	Son	1904		Wolf (Kindly Chief name)	T
231	KI she kwä	M	Husband	1835	Father of 55 and 326	Thunder.	
232	Nä ka pä	F	Wife	1844		Wolf	T
233	Mī shi mya nwä	F	Granddaughter	1898		Thunder	K

[6] Erroneously called son in source.

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
234	Sa na chi	M		1877	Grandmother is 232	Fish	K
235	Chī ni ha (Jennie Davenport)	F		1840	Cousin of 247; mother of 236 and 242; daughter of George L. Davenport who died in 1887 while Indian agent	Pheasant.	
236	Wa se ko ne (William Davenport)	M	Husband	1873	Mother is 235 (Pheasant); brother of 242	Thunder	T
237	Wa pa na pī pa hō kwa	F	Wife	1875	Daughter of 178 and 179	Wolf	T
238	Kī ska nă ka ha ka	M	Son	1893		Thunder	T
239	Mă na kwa	F	Daughter	1895		Thunder	K
240	Wă pi nă mă kī wa	M	Son	1902		Thunder	T
241	Wai to ne sī wa (John Waitonesee) (Wetoneto ?)	M	Husband	1870	Mother is 147; son-in-law of 235 (Pheasant)	Wolf	K
242	Mă skwa na kwi (Nancy Waitonesee)	F	Wife	1869	Mother is 235 (Pheasant); sister of 236 (Thunder)	Thunder.	
243	Kī wa sa mō kwă	F	Daughter	1893		Wolf	T
244	Ma mī chi	F	Daughter	1894		Wolf	K
245	Kī sha să	F	Daughter	1895		Wolf	T
246	Mo nă che kwa	F	Daughter	1899		Wolf	K
247	Wă ki ma wī ta (Harry Davenport, Sr., son of Baily Davenport)	M	Husband	1847	Cousin of 235 (Pheasant)	War Chief	T
248	Sa kă na wa kwa (Mrs. Harry Davenport)	F	Wife	1874		Black Bear (War Chief name).	K
249	Mă skwa wa ta	M	Son	1888		War Chief.	
250	Pă mo să hī ta Pa mo sah	M	Son	1893		War Chief	K
251	Mī sha chi nă ni	M		1884	Husband of 167 (Bear); son of 247 and 248	War Chief	K (?) T (?)

252	Wī ka mă We-co-mah Charles Davenport	M	Husband	1881	Son of 247 (War Chief); Great-grandson of Trader Colonel Davenport).	War Chief Fish	T T
253	Wa wa ki	F	Wife	1884		War Chief	T
254	Ha no ta (Edward Davenport)	M	Son	1900		War Chief	K
255	Pī kwa no	F	Daughter	1901			
256	Mă ko pă (Harry Davenport, Jr.)	M		1877	Son of 247 and 248	War Chief?.	
257	Hă yă no pi	F		1832	Mother of 247 (War Chief)		
258	Ki wă ta ka	M	Husband	1873	Father of 139 (War Chief)	Thunder	K
259	Na wi to kwa	F	Wife	1873		Wolf.	
260	No na wa kă Chi kwe sa	M	Son	1889		Thunder	T
261	Mă sī ko na	F	Daughter	1891		Thunder	K
262	Nī pa to ha	M	Son	1893		Thunder.	
263	Ta skwa kō nă	M	Son	1896		Thunder	K
264	Chī ho wa	M	Son	1898		Thunder	T
265	Mī sha chī kwă	F	Daughter	1904		Thunder	T
266	Na na hapa mă kwa	F		1884		War Chief	K
267	Ha chi ta wa si	F	Mother	1862		Fish	T
268	Cha ka sho	M	Son	1890		Bear (Brown).	
269	Ha sa wa sa mo	F	Daughter	1894		War Chief	T
270	Ma ka tă wa nă mwa	M		1884	Brother of 272 and 277	Wolf	T
271	Mă ki kyă wa (James Magee) (Sauk ?)	M	Husband	1876		Wolf	T
272	Sha pu chī wa	F	Wife	1879	Present wife of 188 (Bear), Sister of 20 and 277	Wolf	T
273	Hă ni shī ka E ni dika (George Buffalo)	M	Son	1899		Bear (Black)	K
274	Shwă wa ho nă ha	M	Son	1902		Wolf	T

No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
275	Nō ki mī shi	F	Niece	1890			
276	Shă shwa hō na	F	Daughter	1905		Wolf	T
277	Pa kwa ni wa	M	Father	1877	Husband of 174 (Thunder; brother of 270 and 272 (Wolf).	Wolf (?).	
278	Mo ni te ha ta	M	Son	1894		Wolf.	
279	Wa wi ya ki shi mo ha Wa ya ke sha mo ha	M	Son	1903		Wolf (?).	
280	Mă shi mō swa	M	Son	1905		Wolf (?).	
281	Wa wa to să (Smart Aleck)	M		1843	Father of 14 (?); father of 43 (War Chief)	War Chief.	
282	Ma su	F		1835			
283	Mă nă ho ki ma wa	M	Husband	1876		War Chief	K
284	Pa ki	F	Wife	1884	Daughter of 55 (Thunder)	Thunder.	
285	Shi shi no kwă	F	Grandmother	1842	Mother of 191 (Fish)	War Chief	K
286	Ha ya chī wa (Percy Bear)	M	Grandson	1892		Bear	K
287	Tă pa shī ta Tela dita	M	Husband	1833	Brother of 94, 213, 214, and 291	Thunder	K
288	Ha sha hi kwă wa (Sioux woman)	F	Wife	1843		Wolf.	
289	Să ki ta (Mosquito)	M		1882	Son of 287 and 288	Thunder (?).	
290	Me skwa pu swa (Joseph Tesson)	M	Husband	1841	Son of White Elk; half French	War Chief	K
291	Ha ski pa ka kă kwa	F	Wife	1847	Sister of 94, 213, 214, and 287	Thunder (?).	
292	Wa pă skă sī kwa (Sophia Whiteswan)	F	Niece	1895		Fish (Swan).	

293	Nī ka na kwa ha ka (Joseph Tesson, Jr.)	M		1880		War Chief.	
294	Pyä tä nä ha	F		1842	Mother of 295	Thunder	T
295	Ki wä wä shī ka (Pete Morgan)	M		1882	Mother of 294 (Thunder)	Wolf	T
296	Wa pi pa kä (Mary Poweshiek Davenport)	F	Mother	1886		Bear (Black)	T
297	Ma ki nī ta	F	Daughter	1903		Wolf	K
298	Ha pa ya sha	M		1827			
299	Pu she to nī kwa La di to ni ga (Elected chief in 1882)	M	Husband	1842	Adopted son of Chief Pa wishi ka, who died 1854; father of 26 (Bear)	Bear (Brown)	T
300	Nä to wä si kwa	F	Wife	1847	Sister of 11 (Bass)	Fish (Bass)	T
301	Pä me ka hī ta (Frank Push)	M	Son	1888		Bear (Brown)	T
302	Nä ta ko (Jessie Shawata)	F	Granddaughter	1892	Daughter of 307 (War Chief)	War Chief.	
303	Ho ma kwa pi wa	M	Grandson	1894	Son of 307 (War Chief)	War Chief.	
304	Wa pi ka ka	M	Grandson	1893			
305	Ki skī nä no swa (John Buffalo)	M		1877	Son of 299 and 300; brother of 306	Bear	T
306	Cha kä nä mä Ki tta ke ne me (Jim Bear)	M		1880	Son of 299 and 300; brother of 305	Bear	K
307	Sha wa ta (Frank Shawata)	M		1874	Wife is 206 (Fish); first wife was daughter of 299 (Bear); father of 302; brother of 43	War Chief	K
308	Wi ha ka	F	Mother	1842	Mother of 310 and 311		
309	Wä wä sä mō kwa	F	Daughter	1888	Wife of 332 (Bear)	Thunder (?).	
310	Kä mī ya	F		1883	Sister of 309 and 311; daughter of 308	Thunder (?).	
311	Nä nä skyä wa	M		1877	Brother of 309 and 310; son of 308	Thunder	T

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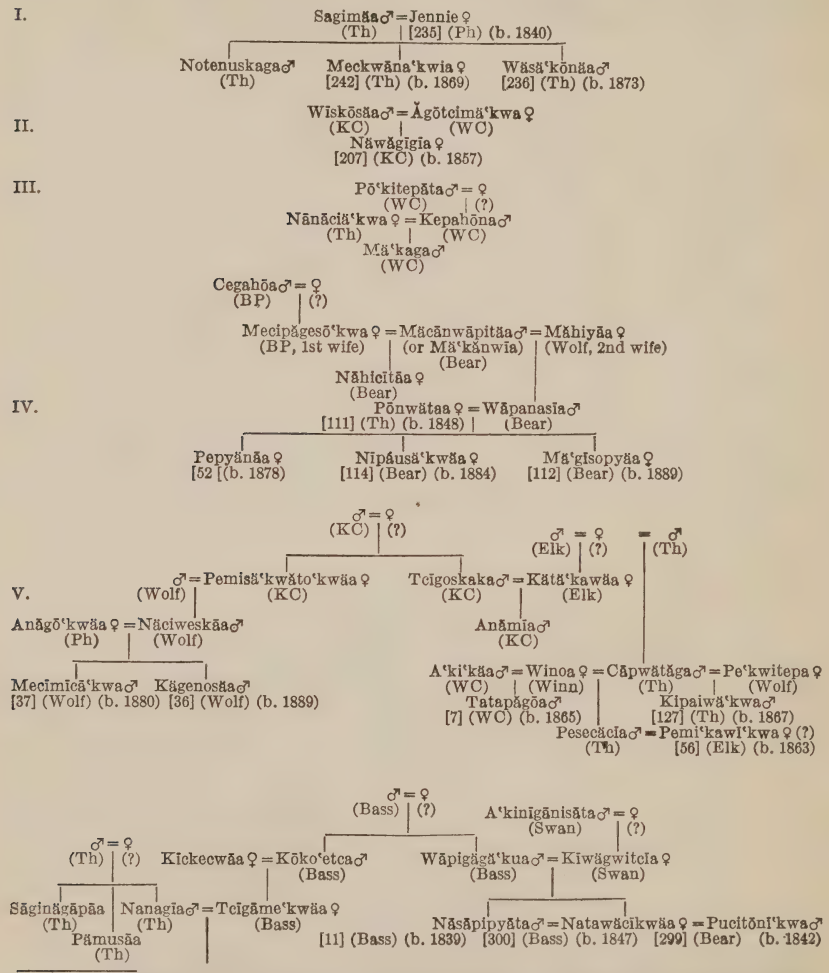
No.	Name	Sex	Relation	Born	Relatives	Gens	Dual Division
312	Ka ka skwo wa	F	Mother	1875			
313	Pyă tă nō kwa	F	Daughter	1895			
314	Sī ta no kwa	F	Niece	1891			
315	Ha ta nō kwa I ta no qua	F	Mother	1874			
316	Kamī yă	M	Son	1897			
317	Ko lo	M	Son	1903			
318	Ho ha wī nga	F	Niece	1892			
319	Peter Soldier	M	Grandfather	1842	Father was German.		
320	Shī wa mi	F	Granddaughter	1900			
321	Mă să chyă wa (George Soldier)	M		1881	Son of 319.		
322	Pă mi ka wa	M	Husband	1852		Thunder.	
323	Mi kă to	F	Wife	1852		Bear (Black)	T
324	Kă ki pă nōta (Billy Jones)	M	Son	1891		Thunder	T
325	Ha shī tă ho să kwa	F	Daughter	1893		Thunder.	
326	Să să ki nō kwa	F	Mother	1867	Sister of 55 (Thunder); daughter of 231 (Thunder); half sister of 215 (Thunder)	Thunder	T
	Mu kwa pu she to Old Bear (dead) (Hereditary chief)	M	Husband	1863		Bear (Black).	
327	Wa să nă nwa Wah pah na no wa (Jim Old Bear)	M	Son	1888		Bear (Black)	K
328	Kă to sa (Mrs. Tom Jefferson)	F	Daughter	1890		Bear (Black)	K
329	Kă twa wo să Ka two wya	M	Son	1893		Bear (Black)	T

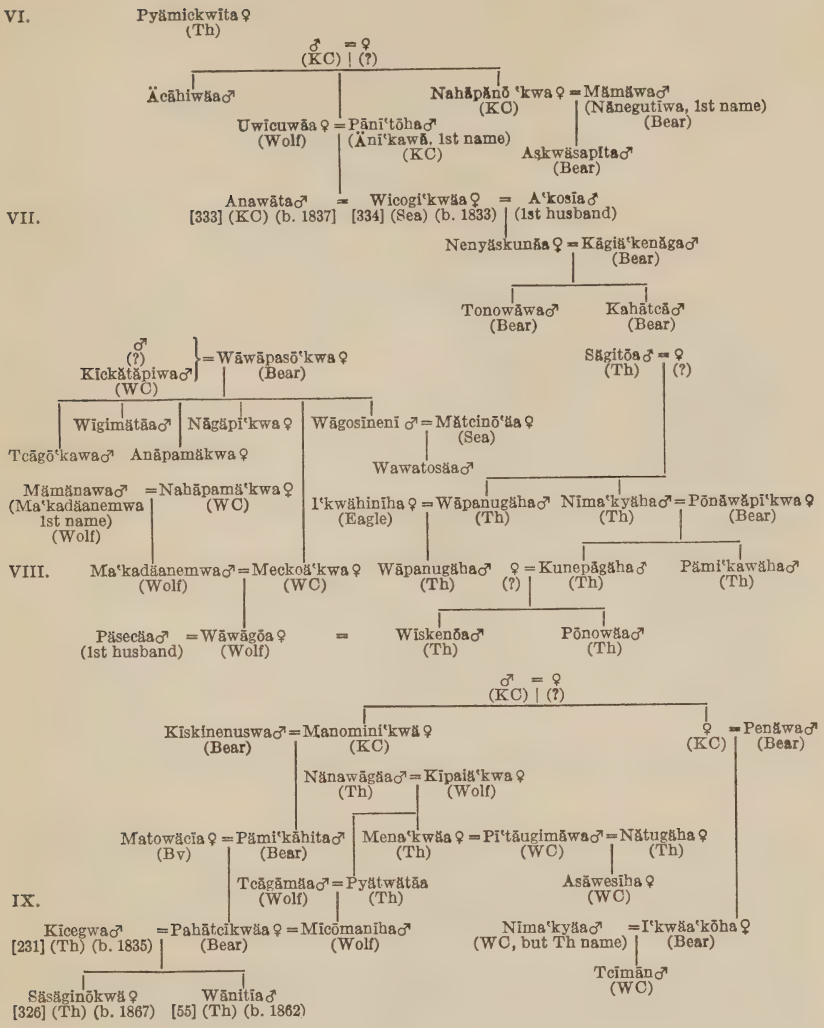
330	Mă na pi (Lucille Old Bear)	F	Daughter	1898		Bear (Black)	T
331	Pă ki ka mă kwi (Billy Old Bear)	M	Son	1894		Bear (Black)	K
332	Ka ka to Ka ka ta	M		1886	Husband of 309; mother is 326	Bear (Black).	
333	Ha na wo wa ta Ona wat (James Onawat) (Subchief)	M	Husband	1837		Kindly Chief(?), War Chief (?).	
334	Wi sho ki kwa	F	Wife	1833		Fish (Sea)	T
335	Po kwi ma wă Pa que no wa	M	Grandson	1888		Wolf	T
336	Ki wa no Ki wa na (Linda Onawat)	F	Granddaughter	1893		Thunder	T
337	Ni sho ma ni (Councillor)	M		1853	Grandfather of 327; father of 326		
338	Hă nă ni wi ta E ne ni we A mon e wit (Isaac Wanetee)	M	Husband	1883	Son of 337	Thunder	T
339	Nă kwa ski (Julia Wanetee)	F	Wife	1886	Daughter of 49 (Bear); sister of 50	Bear.	
340	Sa sa pe to (George Wanetee)	M	Son	1905		Thunder	K
341	Shĭ shĭ kwa nă sa Di mi ga ne sa (John Bear)	M	Father	1874		Bear (Brown)	K
342	Kĭ wa pi ka so (Arthur Bear)	M	Son	1889	Illegitimate	Wolf	T

Appendix B.—GENEALOGIES [1]

Abbreviations used: WC, War Chief; KC, Kindly Chief; Th, Thunder; Ph, Pheasant; Bv, Beaver; BP, Bear Potato; Winn, Winnebago. Numbers in brackets refer to Appendix A.



[1] These few genealogies are unfortunately all that Jones recorded. The dates of birth given here have been determined from Appendix A.


VI.
Pyämiekwĭta♀
(Th)
♂ (KC) = ♀ (?)
Äcāhiwäa♂
Nahāpănŏ 'kwa♀ = Mämäwa♂
(KC) (Nänegutiwa, 1st name)
(Bear)
Uwĭcuwäa♀ = Pänī'tŏha♂
(Wolf) (Äni'kawā, 1st name)
(KC)
Aşkwäsapĭta♂
(Bear)
Anawätä♂ = Wicogi'kwäa♀ = A'kosĭa♂
VII. [333] (KC) (b. 1837) [334] (Sea) (b. 1833) (1st husband)
Nenyäskunäa♀ = Kägiä'kenäga♂
(Bear)
Tonowäwa♂ Kahätcă♂
(Bear) (Bear)
♂ (?) = Wäwäpasŏ'kwa♀
Kĭckätăpiwa♂ (Bear)
(WC)
Sägitŏa♂ = ♀
(Th) (?)
Wĭgimätäa♂ Nägäpi'kwa♀ Wägosĭnenī ♂ = Mätcinŏ'ăa♀
(Sea)
Tcägŏ'kawa♂ Anäpamäkwa♀
Wawatosäa♂
Mämänawa♂ = Nahäpamä'kwa♀
(Ma'kadäanemwa (WC)
1st name)
(Wolf)
1'kwähinĭha♀ = Wäpanugäha♂ Nima'kyäha♂ = Pŏnäwäpī'kwa♀
(Eagle) (Th) (Th) (Bear)
VIII. Ma'kadäanemwa♂ = Meckoä'kwa♀ Wäpanugäha♂ ♀ = Kunepägäha♂ Pämi'kawäha♂
(Wolf) (WC) (Th) (?) (Th) (Th)
Päsecäa♂ = Wäwägŏa♀ = Wĭskenŏa♂ Pŏnowäa♂
(1st husband) (Wolf) (Th) (Th)
♂ = ♀
(KC) (?)
Kĭskinenuswa♂ = Manomini'kwä♀ ♀ = Penäwa♂
(Bear) (KC) (KC) (Bear)
Nänawägäa♂ = Kĭpaiä'kwa♀
(Th) (Wolf)
Matowäcĭa♀ = Pämi'kähita♂ Mena'kwäa♀ = Pĭ'täugimäwa♂ = Nätugäha♀
(Bv) (Bear) (Th) (WC) (Th)
Tcägämäa♂ = Pyätwätäa Asäwesĭha♀
IX. (Wolf) (Th) (WC)
Kicegwa♂ = Pahätcĭkwäa♀ = Mĭcŏmanĭha♂ Nima'kyäa♂ = I'kwäa'kŏha♀
[231] (Th) (b. 1835) (Bear) (Wolf) (WC, but Th name) (Bear)
Tcimän♂
(WC)
Säsäginŏkwä♀ Wänitĭa♂
[326] (Th) (b. 1867) [55] (Th) (b. 1862)

Appendix C.—LISTS OF GENS NAMES

Gens names from Jones' genealogies

BEAR GENS

Name [1]	Sex	Translation [1]
1. Askäsapīta	M	
2. I'kwäa'kōha	F	
3. Kāgigä'kenäga	M	
4. Kahātcā	M	
5. Kīskinenuswa	M	Half Buffalo.
6. Mäcānwāpitäa	M	
7. Mä'gīsopyäa	F	The One Who Has a Big Spot on the Liver.
8. Mä'kanwīa	M	
9. Mämäwa	M	Woodpecker (Jones).
10. Nāhicītäa	F	
11. Nänegutīwa	M	Each One.
12. Nīpāusä'kwäa	F	Walks All Night.
13. Pahātcī'kwäa	F	
14. Pämi'kähita	M	He Walks Along.
15. Penäwa	M	Turkey.
16. Pōnäwäpī'kwa	F	Sits Down.
17. Pucitōnī'kwa	M	Old Man Eye.[3]
18. Tonowāwa	M	
19. Wāpanasīa	M	Walks Until Dawn (Skinner).
20. Wāwāpasō'kwa	F	

[1] Besides the personal names the Foxes also have ordinal names: first-born, second-born, third-born, and last one (for all after the third) (Michelson, unpublished). The Dakota, Iowa, Menomini, and Sauk also had ordinal names (Skinner, Bull. Pub. Mus. Milwaukee, V, pp. 16, 195, 1923-1926).

The different gentes also own appropriate names for their horses and dogs, again like Sauk and Iowa gentes; Winnebago gentes are said to have had names for their dogs (Skinner, ibid., p. 198; Michelson, unpublished).

In some cases individuals were not given names belonging to the gens of the father. Just what governed these exceptions is not clear. Bear women sometimes gave to their children names appropriate to the Bear gens, and these children sat together in a special place at the Wāpānōwiweni. Children when named by others than their fathers were given names appropriate to the gentes of the namers, but they still belonged to their fathers' gentes unless it was otherwise stipulated at the time of naming (Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 125 and footnote). Sauk children if sickly were sometimes adopted into another gens with a view to benefiting their health (M. R. Harrington, Univ. Pa. Mus. Anthrop. Pub., 4, No. 2, 1914).

There is considerable information available on Sauk naming customs, which were quite elaborate. The clan-naming bundle was brought out, and a dog feast given. The Oskush and Kishko moieties played a prominent part. (See Skinner, loc. cit., pp. 16-17; and Harrington, loc. cit.) Probably the Fox once had similar naming feasts, although Forsyth, in describing them, says that these feasts were held by the Sauk and Kickapoo, but were more often dispensed with by the Foxes.

[2] By Michelson, unless otherwise noted.

[3] Skinner translates this Winking Bear. Pacito means old man, but it was also used as a term of address to a bear before killing. (See Skinner, loc. cit., p. 21.)

Gens names from Jones' genealogies—Continued

FOX GENS

A. KINDLY CHIEFS

Name	Sex	Translation
1. Ăcahiwäa	M	
2. Anāmīa	M	
3. Anawāta	M	
4. Änī'kawā	M	You Barely See His Tracks.
5. Manomini'kwă	F	Menomini Woman.
6. Nahāpănō'kwa	F	
7. Näwăgīgīa	F	
8. Pānī'tōa	M	
9. Pemisä'kwăto'kwäa	F	
10. Tcīgoskaka	M	Sweeps With the Foot.
11. Wīskōsäa	M	

B. WAR CHIEFS

1. Ăgōtcimä'kwa	F	
2. A'ki'käa	M	
3. Asāwesīha	F	The Yellow One.
4. Kepahōna	M	Cane (?).
5. Kīckătăpiwa	M	He Bites it Off.
6. Mäckoä'kwa	F	Prairie Woman.
7. Mä'kaga	M	
8. Nahāpamä'kwa	F	Gets Him in the Right Position by Looking at Him.
9. Pī'tāugimāwa	M	
10. Pō'kitepāta	M	Half or Split Head.
11. Tatapăgōa	M	Leaf.
12. Tcīmān	M	Canoe.

WOLF GENS

1. Kägenosäa	M	Long Ears (?).
2. Kīpaiä'kwa	F	
3. Mahiyāa	F	
4. Ma'kadäanemwa	M	Black Dog.
5. Mämänawa	M	
6. Mecīmīcā'kwa	M	Apple Tree.
7. Mīcōmanīha	M	
8. Näciweckāa	M	
9. Peckwitepa	F	
10. Tcāgämäa	M	
11. Uwīcuwāa	F	
12. Wāwāgōa	F	

Gens names from Jones' genealogies—Continued

ELK GENS

Name	Sex	Translation
1. Kätä'kawäa	F	
2. Pemi'kawī'kwa	F	Goes Along.

SWAN GENS

1. A'kinīgānisāta	M	Nīgānisāta, Flies Ahead.
2. Kīwägwitcīa	F	

PHEASANT GENS

1. Anāgō'kwäa	F	

EAGLE GENS

1. I'kwähinīha	F	

SEA GENS

1. Mätcinō'käa	F	
2. Wicogi'kwäa	F	Has Some Scales.

BASS GENS

1. Kōko'etca	M	
2. Näsāpipyāta	M	The One Who Went Into the Water.
3. Natawäcī'kwäa	F	
4. Tcīgāme'kwäa	F	
5. Wāpigägä'kwa	M	

Gens names from Jones' genealogies—Continued

THUNDER GENS

Name	Sex	Translation
1. Cāpwätăga	M	Sounds it Out Through Space.
2. Kīcegwa	M	Day.
3. Kīpaiwä'kwa	F	
4. Kunepāgäha	M	Swaying Wings.
5. Mämäckwinecia	M	
6. Meckwāna'kwia	F	Red Cloud in Storm (Skinner).
7. Mena'kwäa	F	Fine Cloud.
8. Nānāciä'kwa	F	Caresses a Feather.
9. Nanagīa	M	Goes Anywhere, Anyhow.
10. Nänawāgäa	M	Flies Around Wasting Time.
11. Nätugäha	F	
12. Nīma'kyäha	M	Raises the Earth by Hitting It.
13. Notenogäa	M	Windy.
14. Notenuskaga	M	Takes the Wind Through.
15. Pämi'kawäha	M	
16. Pämusäa		Walks Along.
17. Pesecăcīa	M	
18. Pōnowäa	F	Quits Saying It.
19. Pōnwätaa	F	Quits Shouting.
20. Pyämickwīta	F	
21. Pyätwätäa	F	Comes Hallooing (Jones).
22. Sagimäa	M	Mosquito.
23. Säginägāpäa		
24. Sägitōa	M	
25. Säsäginōkwä	F	
26. Wānitīa	M	
27. Wāpanugäha	M	He Who is Busy with the Morning (Jones).
28. Wäsä'kōnäa	M	Has Lights on His Back.
29. Wīskenōa	M	Bird.

BEAR POTATO GENS

1. Cegahōa	M	Hell Diver.
2. Mecipägesō'kwa	F	

BEAVER GENS

1. Matowäcīa	F	

Appendix D.—CEREMONIAL DATA

With regard to ceremonialism among the Foxes we have much data as to procedure and little as to motivation. The ceremonial calendar is unknown to us, and we have but scant information as to the occasion for holding the ceremonies dealt with in detail in the table below. From such fragments of information as we have, the following occasions can be distinguished:

Buffalo worship early in spring (Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 281).

Corn planting (Busby, Two Summers among the Musquakies, p. 110).

Corn ripening (Busby, loc. cit., pp. 110–113; Jones).

Before the buffalo run in the fall (Jones).

Preparation for the winter hunt (Busby, loc. cit., pp. 66–67).

When a young man killed his first game (Marston *in* Morse, Rept. to Sec. of War, p. 136).

After slaying game (Jones).

When fasting sticks were put away or brought out for 6-year-old children (in preparation for a special career for these children?) (Michelson, op. cit., pp. 557–559).

Preparation for war (Marston, op. cit., p. 130).

Atonement for wrongdoing (Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 58).

The functional significance of these ceremonies must, however, remain inferential. Since it is thus impossible to discuss the inner meaning of Fox ceremonialism, we must be content for the present to confine ourselves to ceremonial procedure, for which we have abundant data. This data, collected by Michelson, including some hitherto unpublished material, is presented in tabular form below.

Michelson has frequently remarked on the essential uniformity of Fox gens festivals. (See Internat. Cong. Americanists, 23, pp. 545–546, 1928.) In general it can be said that they will all conform to the following pattern.

They will be held from sunrise to sunset (except for a few held at night). Dogs will be ceremonially killed the night before (except in the ceremonial worship of the wolf, in which dog is forbidden as being too closely related). These dogs will be laid on a scaffold overnight. They will be carefully put in kettles in the order in which they were killed (in the wolf ceremony chickens were treated in identical fashion). Special invitation sticks will be used to invite members of other gentes to the ceremony. Smokers will sit on the north side of the building; singers will sit on the south. There will also be a drummer on the south, except in the winter, when there is no dancing and no drum.

The sacred bundle will be placed in a central position on the west side of the building, usually on a mound of fresh earth. A flute will be sounded in the four directions to attract the attention of the manitous. Ceremonial attendants of specified gentes will officiate. Fire and Sky (specifically He-whose-face-bulges-at-the-smokehole) will be given offerings for which they are to serve as intermediaries to the manitous. There will be four dances and three eatings, with the main feast after the third dance. (Only the invited guests will eat during the ceremony.) The bones left over from the feast will be ceremonially disposed of. The story of the origin of the ceremony will be recounted. Prayers will be offered for long life, freedom from disease, the security of the entire village, the well-being of all gens members, the confusion of the foe, and success in war. When the ceremony is over and the guests have gone, the members of the gens giving the ceremony will break their fast.

Within this basic framework, however, details can vary. Some of these differences appear clearly in the table, but the table is by no means complete. Blanks cannot be taken as evidence that a given feature is lacking. The plus signs indicate that the feature is reported in the published source, crosses that Michelson can vouch for it from his personal information, and minus signs that the feature is known not to occur. Other pertinent information which could not be put in tabular form, including the source of information, remarks on the informant, etc., follows the table.

Comparative table for ceremonial procedure

Name of festival	1. Wapanowiweni dance of the Bear gens	2. Worship of Buffaloes and Wapanowa Birds	3. Sagimakwawa Sacred Pack	4. Thunder dance of the Bear gens	5. Buffalo dance of the Bear gens	6. Buffalo-Head dance of the Thunder gens	7. Worship of the Thunderers by the Thunder gens	8. Apenawanaa Sacred Pack	9. Kwiyama,a's Sacred Pack [1]	10. Lucy Lasley's Sacred Pack [2]	11. Dirty Little Ani Society	12. Owl Sacred Pack (War Chiefs)	13. White Buffalo dance	14. The War Chiefs Worship the Wolf	15. The War Chiefs Raise the British Flag	16. Green Buffalo dance of the Wolf gens	17. Red Stone Pipe dance of the Eagle gens
Held from sunrise to sunset	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Held at night	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Drummer seated on south	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Feathers on mound	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Central position of sacred bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Flute	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Tobacco cast at poles, in fire	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
4 dead puppies as messengers	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Smokers seated on north	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Singers seated on south	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
4 old women at corners	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Ceremonial attendants of other gentes	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Painting of center poles	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Fumigation of pack	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Orderly arrangement of kettles	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Address to Fire and Smokehole	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Hoof rattles	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Gourd rattles	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Distinguished guest honored	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Leading female dancer	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Mimetic features	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Oak leaves in hair	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Buffalo tails in belt	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Bones placed in pile	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Bones burned	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Eating contest	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Clubs, etc., "fed" by greasy hands	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Prayers	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Origin myth recounted	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
Members break fast after guests go	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+

[1] Sauk.
[2] Potawatomi.

1. WĂPANŌWIWENI DANCE OF THE BEAR GENS.

Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109–141, 1932. Informant an anonymous member of the Bear gens. This account is a description of a particular ceremony observed by the informant, largely in the form of an explanation of a diagram. Persons belonging to this rite had to be members of the Bear or War Chief gentes, and were adept at shamanistic tricks. The individual first blessed was MAMA'SĀ'A (Bear name). The ceremonial attendants were an Eagle and a War Chief. The leading female dancer was a Bear woman. The rain crow (cuckoo) was imitated. Those taking part in the ceremony painted themselves red. There was also a red headdress.

2. WORSHIP OF BUFFALOES AND WAPANOWA BIRDS.

Michelson, Bull. 105, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 5–12, 1932. Text written out by Alfred Kiyana, War Chief gens; it was not translated until after his death, and no further information is available. The ceremony belonged to the Swan gens (now part of the "Fish" gens). The leading female dancer was a virgin who had just begun to menstruate. Of the four dances, two imitated buffaloes and two birds. The leading male dancer wore a buffalo headdress. The virgin stooped and ate sugar without a spoon (imitation of buffalo).

3. SAGIMAKWAWA SACRED PACK.

Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 117–159, 1927. The same informant as for (1), a Bear, and a minor singer. This is the great gens festival of the Bear gens, and the sacred pack was formerly in the keeping of Chief Pacitonigwa. The account is a description of a specific ceremony, given in explanation of a diagram. SĀGIMĀ'KWĀWA means "Chieftain Woman," and is said to refer to an otter. The individual first blessed was "Black Bear," a chief. The pack is untied only once every 5 years. The ceremonial attendants were an Eagle and a War Chief. The rain crow (cuckoo) was imitated with a flute.

4. THUNDER DANCE OF THE BEAR GENS.

For this we have two accounts, Michelson, Bull. 89, Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1929. The first is by the same informant as for (1) and (3), a Bear, whose account was of a specific ceremony in the nature of an explanation of a diagram. The second is by Jim Peters, a Thunder member of Sauk descent, and is fragmentary, being better for songs and prayers than for procedure. Both agree that the individuals first blessed were "the Twins," and that the distinguished guests were Wolf, Fox, Eagle, and Thunder.

5. BUFFALO DANCE OF THE BEAR GENS.

Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 1–41, 1930. The same informant as for (1), (3), and (4), a Bear. A description of a specific ceremony, with diagram. Ceremonial attendants were Thunder and War Chief. Berries were offered in turn to representatives of the Wolf, War Chief, Eagle, and Thunder gentes, and the Dirty Ani Society. The leading female dancer was a member of the Thunder gens.

6. THE BUFFALO-HEAD DANCE OF THE THUNDER GENS.

For this ceremony we have three accounts.

(*a*) The same informant as for (1), (3), (4) and (5), a Bear. This account is fullest for procedure, and is an explanation of a diagram. He remarks that the leading female dancer was a War Chief member. They imitate the buffalo herd in the dance, and take sugar with their tongues.

(*b*) This account was by Sam Peters, a Peyote man of Sauk descent who has not taken an active part in Fox ceremonial activity for many years. It was challenged

by Harry Lincoln, a Bear of Winnebago descent, as being partly confused with the orthodox myth of the Dirty Little Ani Society.

(*c*) An origin myth, including the instructions given to the one first blessed as to holding the ceremony, by Alfred Kiyana, War Chief member.

7. WORSHIP OF THE THUNDERERS BY THE THUNDER GENS.

We have three accounts for this ceremony also (Michelson, Bull. 95, Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1930).

(*a*) By the same informant as for (1), (3), (4), (5), and (6), a Bear, and a singer in the ceremony. Diagram and accompanying explanation.

(*b*) By Alfred Kiyana, War Chief member. A theoretical account as given to the one blessed at the time of his vision.

(*c*) By an anonymous member of the Thunder gens. An account of a specific ceremony.

8. A'PENÄWÄNÄ'A SACRED PACK.

Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 97–116, 1927. By the same informant as for (1), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7), a Bear, and a singer in the ceremony. A diagram of a specific ceremony with accompanying explanation. A'panäwänä'a means "Night-Hawk," and is also the name of the Spirit of Sickness. This ceremony was held at night. The one first blessed was "Smooth Belly." Ceremonial attendants were Wolf and Bear; they were unpainted, and naked except for breechclouts.

9. KWIYAMÄ'A'S SACRED PACK.

Michelson, Bull. 85, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 51–96, 1927. This is a fragmentary account by Sam Peters, Peyote man, grandson of the owner of the pack, in which he tells what he remembers from witnessing the ceremony held long before when his grandfather was living. KWIYAMA'A' was a Sauk, and took this pack to war against the Comanches in 1854. Apparently a deer's head was supposed to be sacrificed, but dog was used on the last occasion.

10. LUCY LASLEY'S SACRED PACK.

Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 504. Lucy Lasley is a member of the Thunder gens. She got this pack from her father, Buck Green, a Potawatomi. The Winnebago of Nebraska are said to have the bear hide belonging to this pack, and to perform the same ceremony. A buffalo-fur headdress was worn.

11. DIRTY LITTLE ANI SOCIETY.

Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 497–539, 1925. Informant was Sam Peters, Thunder man of Sauk descent, referred to above. This pack belongs to Sam's brother Joe, and Sam has also served as ceremonial attendant, but he said "I do not know this very well." Another name for members of this society is "Those Who Worship the Spotted Buffalo Calf." This is the way Indians refer to the domestic cattle. The ceremony is held both spring and fall. Women are pursued symbolically in the dance.

12. OWL SACRED PACK.

Michelson, Bull. 72, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 9–67, 1921. The pack belonged to Kiyana, and Kiyana wrote the text. This ceremony could be held at night. Black Rainbow and his niece, Deer Horn, were the ones first blessed.

13. THE WHITE BUFFALO DANCE.

Michelson, Fortieth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 37–289, 1925. Alfred Kiyana, War Chief member, was the informant. The pack belonged to the War Chief gens. There was one major pack, and four minor packs, one for each hoof of the buffalo. Stepparents of children of the War Chief gens served as ceremonial attendants. They carried fans of eagle wings and eagle feathers in the hair. After the ceremony the bones were taken 99 steps and thrown away. During the dance bowls of sugar were overturned.

14. THE WAR CHIEFS WORSHIP THE WOLF.

Michelson, to appear in Fox Miscellany, a forthcoming bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology. We have three accounts.

(*a*) By an anonymous member of the War Chief gens. An explanation of a diagram. Kepäyomāwa, a member of the War Chief gens, was the one first blessed. Michelson remarks that the key positions in the ceremony belong in one family. No dog could be used, and the sacred pack was not placed on a mound of earth, as was usually done. When held in winter women do not attend, there is no drum, and the pack is not untied.

(*b*) An explanation of a diagram. The sacred pack has a white wolf hide. Chickens were the main food, and they were cremonially treated the evening before exactly as dogs usually were.

(*c*) Description of a particular ceremony held June 4, 1924. The ceremony is given twice a year, once when leaves are large in the spring, and once after harvest. Ducks were mentioned as the main food.

15. THE WAR CHIEFS RAISE THE BRITISH FLAG.

Michelson, unpublished manuscript. There are two accounts by the same informant, the anonymous member of the War Chief gens mentioned in (14). The first is an explanation of a diagram, and the second is a long origin myth. This ceremony is never held in winter. The origin myth accounts for receiving the British flag, which takes the place of a sacred pack. The flag is always taken down before sunset. The hero was a quarter-blood Fox whose grandfather was a white trader. Sick people who attend this ceremony will get better. Those who hold the ceremony can make it rain or be fair as they choose on the day of the ceremony.

16. GREEN BUFFALO DANCE OF THE WOLF GENS.

Michelson, to appear in Fox Miscellany. It is some time since this ceremony was held, and we have only the myth connected with it. Those blessed were twins, members of the Wolf gens. Ceremonial attendants were War Chief and Thunder.

17. RED STONE PIPE DANCE OF THE EAGLE GENS.

Michelson, unpublished manuscripts. The text was written out by Alfred Kiyana, War Chief gens member, and is an origin myth with few details of procedure. The ceremonial attendants were Bear and War Chief.

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